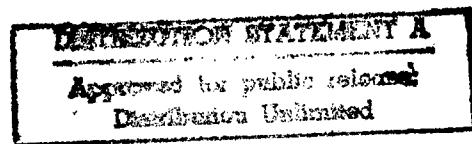




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# ***JPRS Report***



# **Soviet Union**

## ***Political Affairs***

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# Soviet Union Political Affairs

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16 MAY 1988

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**New First Secretary Criticizes Lithuania's Perestroyka Progress**  
18000266a Vilnius SOVETSKAYA LITVA in Russian  
27 Jan 88 pp 1- 3

[Speech by R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the Lithuanian CP Central Committee at the Lithuanian CP Central Committee Plenum held 26 January in Vilnius: "Account By the LiSSR CP Central Committee Buro Concerning Its Leadership In Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] At the behest of the Central Committee Buro this report was presented by R. I. Songayla, first secretary of the LiSSR CP Central Committee.

In accordance with the decisions of the June (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, the LiSSR CP Central Committee Buro today submits for the consideration of this plenum an accounting of its work with regard to leadership in restructuring efforts.

In our republic party organization the period of accounting by elected party organizations concerning their leadership in restructuring is drawing to a close. Today we culminate those accounts with this Central Committee plenum. Communists and all our working people have made active preparations for the purpose of providing a fitting reception for the 19th All-Union Party Conference. We have entered a new, second stage of restructuring, and our tasks at this stage may be summarized as harmonization of the party's restructuring policy with real life and practical implementation of that policy. This is our most important and most difficult task. As was stressed in the CPSU Central Committee resolution on this current accounting period, it is of political importance that we step up our work in all branches and at all levels, that we eliminate the gap between a number of party committees and the dynamic development of real-life processes. For without a sharp increase in activism on the part of all party organizations restructuring cannot be brought to completion.

**Improving the Functioning of the LiSSR CP Central Committee Buro**

In preparing for this account, the Central Committee Buro deemed it a matter of fundamental importance to hold as broad a counsel as possible with the members of the LiSSR CP Central Committee and listen attentively to the opinions of party members, non-party members and members of various segments of the public concerning the status of restructuring in our republic and the work of the Central Committee Buro with regard to leadership in that process. The opinions of scientists, members of the creative intelligentsia and party, wartime and labor veterans were sought. A large volume of material for consideration and conclusions was provided by numerous letters from working people to the Central Committee, other republic organizations and mass media publications, including a special rubric entitled "Approaching the LiSSR CP Central Committee

Plenum," as well as the data from several sociological studies. All Central Committee members were given an opportunity to familiarize themselves in advance with the theses of the draft account.

One important conclusion stemming directly from preparations for this plenum is that broad counsel with the party aktiv and working people needs to be made a part of our day-to-day party practice. This is a living link to the masses, one which cannot be overestimated, one for which there is no substitute. We regard that which we have done in this direction as merely the first steps. Overall the Central Committee Buro is still not relying heavily enough on Central Committee members in its preparations for plenums, in its study of local situations and particularly in its implementation of supervision over realization of the measures which it adopts. Even for this present plenum less than one-half of all Central Committee members really played a part in the preparations. We need to develop a mechanism for such work, make it permanent, and encompass ever broader segments of communists and non-party members.

Summing up the comments and suggestions which have been made, we can conclude that on the one hand our republic's communists and working people support the course toward restructuring and are attempting to participate actively in restructuring efforts. But, on the other hand, a substantial segment of them still do not see any substantive changes occurring around them. In the opinion of many comrades, this is the result of insufficient exactingness on the part of the Central Committee Buro and local party organs with regard to administrative cadres at all levels and with regard to primary party organizations. The low level of demands placed upon them in regard to divergence between words and actions, a wait-and-see attitude and slowness in the implementation of changes and work to better satisfy people's urgent needs is having a visible effect.

We self-critically acknowledge that the desired results have not yet been achieved in the Buro's restructuring efforts. Each Buro member must make an ever greater personal contribution to our common tasks and to the cause of restructuring in his assigned field. Today's plenum is intended to help in this regard. Central Committee members should express their critical comments regarding Buro members in a party-like manner, thoroughly and frankly, as well as their constructive suggestion as to how Buro members can improve their work.

The Central Committee Buro's organizational work is suffering from a number of substantial shortcomings. Some of these are deeply rooted and are lessening the effectiveness of party leadership. First and foremost it should be noted that the Central Committee Buro has still not managed to achieve radical restructuring of the work of all party committees and organizations, raise the initiative and level of responsibility of administrative cadres at all levels to the proper degree, or increase the labor and political activism of the broad working masses.

The Central Committee Buro adopts many resolutions and complex series of measures, yet these are often redundant in nature. This results from the fact that the Central Committee Secretariat, department chiefs and apparatus still regard the creation of documents as their primary function. At the same time insufficient attention is being devoted to the practical organization of implementation and monitoring of that area. We also feel that is important to note that the Central Committee apparatus is forced into an office-bound work style by the ever-increasing number of documents and oral requests for various information which are received from higher up.

Monitoring of implementation also does not produce the desired results at times. We were repeatedly convinced of this in the course of our preparations for this account. The Central Committee Buro's resolution on measures to coordinate inspections and audits has also remained essentially unrealized. Inspections conducted on a too frequent basis hamper operations and make cadres and labor collectives nervous.

It is essential that we decisively smash established approaches and constantly improve the work style of the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat. I am fully aware that I as first secretary must approach this matter in an energetic and decisive manner. I feel that I should, relying on the collective experience of Buro members and all members of the Central Committee, focus my greatest attention on more in-depth analysis of the progress of restructuring in our republic and on improving coordination between the operations of the Central Committee Buro, the LiSSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the LiSSR Council of Ministers, set higher standards for cadres, and resolve pressing problems skillfully and efficiently.

Timely resolution of problems which may arise and the rate and depth of restructuring are directly dependent on the level of work with cadres. The Central Committee Buro has taken and is continuing to take measures to improve its work in this highly important area. Now our principal criterion for the evaluation of cadres is their attitude toward restructuring and real positive change in the sectors under their supervision. Since the April CPSU Central Committee there has been a 50 percent turnover among party gorkom and raykom secretaries, and one-third of all chairmen of gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms have been replaced. During cadre selection greater attention is now being paid to such qualities as the depth of cadres' Marxist-Leninist world view, their sense of innovation, their organizational abilities, practical experience and competence, their moral purity and modesty, their need to associate with people, and their ability to listen to other people's opinions. The Central Committee Buro is now more firmly guided by the fundamental requirement that administrative cadres at all levels more fully reflect the ethnic composition of our republic's population. We are seeing some progress toward making the corps of cadres younger.

However, we self-critically acknowledge that restructuring of our work with cadres is proceeding too slowly, and that outdated approaches have not yet been eliminated. The Central Committee Buro, Secretariat and Organizational Party Work Department (candidate Buro member V. A. Berezov, chief) are still being too timid in their transition to democratic principles and glasnost in cadre selection and assignment. Thus far only two party gorkom secretaries have been selected on a competitive basis. Therefore it comes as no surprise that democratic forms in cadre work have not taken firm hold in party gorkoms and raykoms, particularly in ones like Ionavskiy, Moletskiy, Plungeskiy and a number of others.

It has still not been fully realized that democratic methods should form the foundation of all cadre selection and assignment work. The Organizational Party Work Department and party gorkoms and raykoms are still limiting themselves to isolated attempts to apply the new methods. There are still cases of cadre selection taking place behind closed doors with only a narrow, well-established group of workers being considered; the same individuals are transferred back and forth from one position to another.

The main reason for these shortcomings lies with poor knowledge of people and inadequate work with the cadre reserve. This has been discussed repeatedly. Yet even since the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum there has been no significant improvement in this regard. Formalism in work to form the cadre reserve has not been eliminated, and there is no genuine glasnost in the process of nominating candidates for the reserve. New forms and methods for training reserve workers have not been given serious thought.

The Central Committee Buro should deal with all these matters in a more in-depth and persistent manner. N.A. Mitkin, Buro member and Central Committee second secretary, should pursue current cadre policy more consistently and firmly, as he is responsible for that area. Together with the Central Committee's Organizational Party Work Department he should do much more work toward the creation of an appropriate cadre reserve. Toward this end it is necessary to study and know in greater detail the people, ethnic characteristics and traditions of our republic, and not be hasty in dealing with cadre matters.

The matter of promoting women to administrative positions requires greater attention on the part of the Central Committee Buro. In this area as well there has been some distortion, i.e. women are primarily assigned to positions in the area of ideological and educational work. At the same time there are not enough women among the administrators of party, soviet and economic organizations.

Not enough young people are being promoted to administrative positions. Until recently there was no trend toward younger administrative cadres at the republic,

city or rayon levels, or among heads of labor collectives in the main sectors of the economy. We must radically intensify the process of training young cadres and of promoting them to positions of leadership, while at the same time adhering to the Leninist requirement that they be paired with experienced cadres; this is a priority task for the Central Committee's Buro, Secretariat and departments and for party gorkoms and raykoms.

Since the Law on State Enterprises took effect a broad range of opportunities for worker initiative have opened up, and new demands have been made of the Central Committee Buro, Secretariat and apparatus and of party committees and organizations. It is their organizational and political work which should set in motion the mechanism for getting working people genuinely involved in the resolution of state, production-related and social matters. We ourselves need to learn how and to teach people how to live and function under conditions of expanding democracy.

However, this has proven to be no easy task. Our preliminary experiences with the formation of labor collective councils unfortunately leads us to a disturbing conclusion. These councils are not being successfully established or their work developed in all cases. The LiSSR Trade Union Council and republic trade union committees are exerting an intolerably weak effect on this process. This also applies to many party gorkoms and raykoms and primary party organizations. For example, in our republic construction organizations only administrators have been elected to the councils. This situation must be rectified. As a result the councils have essentially been transformed into an organ for meetings of the bosses and administrators of construction organizations. Now it is important that we help labor collective councils get on with their work without delay, making full use of their authority.

As democracy takes firmer hold demands on soviets of people's deputies and their executive organs are increasing. Recently their rights and authority were substantially expanded. However, thus far this has produced little effect. We have still not managed to increase the activism of deputies, expand the role of soviet sessions or eliminate formalism and over-organization as we should have. The effectiveness of deputies' inquiries remains limited. Many ispolkoms have still not stopped the practice of taking their cues from party organizations and seeking their consent even on petty matters, waiting for instructions to come down from above. Soviets are still not doing enough to direct the comprehensive development of the territories under their jurisdiction, are not participating actively enough in the formulation of plans for the social and economic development of labor collectives, and are slack in their monitoring of the implementation of those plans.

Intensifying the struggle against anything that hinders full use of soviets' capabilities is primarily the responsibility of the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium, which is

headed by V. S. Astrauskas, a member of the Central Committee Buro. It is essential that he work to restructure the work of local soviets, get the huge army of people's deputies actively involved, react more swiftly to shortcomings in their work and show greater exactingness and thoroughness in the resolution of matters.

Serious shortcomings also exist in the work of the LiSSR Trade Union Council. Trade union committees are still not active or persistent enough in their efforts to resolve economic and social problems. They are not doing enough to enliven socialist competition, more quickly eliminate salary levelling and improve people's working and living conditions. Educational and mass cultural work is not being restructured aggressively, and democratization of intra-trade union affairs is proceeding too timidly. L. K. Maksimovas, the newly elected chairman of the Trade Union Council, should energetically and decisively head up the struggle for the swiftest possible elimination of the shortcomings which have been noted in the work of our republic's trade unions.

The Central Committee Buro has much work to do to improve its leadership in the Komsomol. Since the Komsomol congress the Komsomol Central Committee and Komsomol gorkoms and raykoms have begun to expand more boldly democratic principles and glasnost in their work and are now taking the needs of young men and women into account better. However, the Komsomol's role in many areas of society and in the upbringing of young people remains weak. The lack of proper Komsomol influence on various independent associations of young people is alarming. Their activities often have no connection to pressing social problems; this leads to apolitical attitudes and social passivity among young people, and even to nationalistic sentiments on the part of some young people.

It is primarily the Komsomol Central Committee and its first secretary, A. A. Matsaytis, which should take the appropriate action on the basis of this criticism. But it must also be acknowledged that party guidance of the Komsomol still remains inadequate. Decisions made by a Central Committee plenum and the Buro on this matter are not being properly implemented by many party committees and organizations, and the Central Committee Buro, Secretariat and Organizational Party Work Department are not adequately monitoring compliance.

The Central Committee Buro has been insufficiently consistent in its efforts to implement the guidelines established by the 27th Party Congress and the January (1987) CPSU Central Committee Plenum relative to intraparty democracy. True, during this past period of accounting and elections over one-third of all primary party organizations did put two or more candidates on the ballot. In one primary party organization in eight the secretary was elected by a secret ballot. Yet in Zarasayiskiy and Shirvintskiy rayons not a single party organization has yet elected a secretary on a competitive basis.

The Central Committee Buro has taken a number of steps designed to expand glasnost in party work. It has become standard practice to report in the mass media on matters considered at meetings of the Buro and to publish the Buro's most important resolutions. However, not all party committees have followed this example. Cadre reassessments are not sufficiently subject to glasnost, and sociological research is not being utilized adequately.

The Central Committee Buro should make better use in its work of criticism and self-criticism, which are proven weapons in the struggle against shortcomings. It is essential that we evaluate the work of all cadres and our own work thoroughly and stringently, setting an example of a critical and self-critical approach to situation evaluation for party committees and primary party organizations. However, we must also take into account Central Committee members' comments that our party documents should give a fully objective picture.

#### **Ensuring the Successful Conducting of Radical Economic Reform**

Economic restructuring efforts occupy a central place in the work of the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat. The Central Committee Buro has repeatedly considered the progress of preparations for and implementation of radical economic reform in our republic economy. The means of and schedules for the transitions of sectors, enterprises and organizations to new conditions of economic management have been defined. Greater responsibility for the state of the economy is being placed on cadres.

What results have been achieved during the first two years of this five-year plan, and what conclusions should be drawn from them?

More dynamic development of the economy is creating opportunities for further expansion and improvement of productive potential and is making it possible to conduct a stronger social policy.

However, the new methods of economic management are definitely not being put into practice as they could be and as they should be. Our republic's economic departments have not restructured properly a new way of functioning. Gosplan (Central Committee member B. A. Zaykauskas, chairman) is still not providing adequate scientific preliminary work and balance in its plans or harmonizing the interests of sectors and regions, the production sphere and the social realm. The Central Committee Buro has repeatedly pointed out these shortcomings to the Gosplan administration, yet thus far no appropriate action has not been taken in response.

Examination of the draft plan for 1988 also revealed other negative phenomena in the planning. Union ministries and departments such as the USSR State Agroindustrial Committee, the USSR Ministry of the Timber,

Pulp and Paper, and Wood Processing Industry, the USSR Ministry of Light Industry and others covered the entire production program of union-republic ministries and departments with state orders, in actuality depriving the republic Council of Ministries of the possibility of establishing state orders even for consumer goods. Yet what is especially alarming is the fact that enterprises are also being deprived of their independence and the opportunity to plan a portion of their production on the basis of direct economic ties. We hope that the union organs will correct these shortcomings. But our republic Council of Ministers and its chairman, Central Committee Buro member V. V. Sakalauskas, should assume a more active stance in these matters. V. V. Sakalauskas should evaluate more critically the work of the Council of Ministers apparatus, analyze in greater depth the work of planning and economic organs, and constantly work to improve its guidance of republic ministries and departments. Yu. M. Sheris, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and V. A. Kazanavichyus and Yu. L. Rusenko, deputy chairmen, are obligated to work more energetically toward these ends in their assigned areas.

The Central Committee Buro has devoted constant attention to restructuring the functioning of our republic industrial sector. However, much work remains to be done, particularly with regard to ensuring that contractual obligations concerning the delivery of goods are fulfilled unconditionally. In this respect the situation has worsened over the past year. There was a shortfall in the delivery of industrial goods of almost 40 million rubles, which is greater than the 1986 shortfall by a factor of 1.9. Of this amount 37 percent was caused by the collectives of the Vilma Production Association, the Zhalgiris Plant and the Komunaras Plant in Vilnius. Some enterprises in the capital have been lagging behind since the start of the current five-year plan. There are many objective reasons for this, but there are even more shortcomings in the organization of production and labor on the part of their economic administrators, party organizations and trade union organizations. The party gorkom, its buro and K. V. Zaletskas, its newly elected first secretary, must do their jobs more energetically and decisively, demanding that party raykoms, ispolkoms and the economic administrators and party organizations of lagging enterprises take exhaustive measures to rectify this situation, and also render them assistance in doing so. The LiSSR CP Central Committee's Industry Department must intensify its coordinating role and influence.

In recent years a number of measures have been taken for the purpose of accelerating the development of the machine building industry. However, this is no reason for complacency. The technical level of goods produced remains low at the Kapsukas Food Equipment Production Association imeni 50th Anniversary of the USSR, the Shyaulyay Vayras Bicycle and Motor Plant, the Kedainyay Electrical Apparatus Plant, the Elfa Electrical Equipment Plant and the Vilma Production Association in Vilnius, and at a number of other enterprises.

Businesslike mutual relations between enterprises' technical services and state acceptance organs have still not been established everywhere. Instead of mutually enthusiastic cooperation, in some places we are seeing disharmony between those organizations' actions, groundless ambitions, bureaucratism and formalism. The Central Committee Buro has not been as demanding as it should have been toward the secretaries of enterprises' party committees and party buros, party gorkoms and party raykoms with regard to elimination of these shortcomings.

The Central Committee Buro has still not managed to managed to eliminate significant omissions in the area of scientific and technical progress and the integration of science and production. Gosplan and the Academy of Sciences are not coordinating research and experimental design work properly. Too few technical innovations are being included in the state plan for the development of science and technology. As before, the heads of many ministries, associations and enterprises are not sufficiently enthusiastic about the introduction of scientific advances into the production process.

The transition of a majority of industrial enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing should help improve this situation. However, the advantages of this new economic mechanism will not come about by themselves. Not all enterprises have drawn up realistic and well-balanced plans for 1988, plans which would ensure profits sufficient for the normal functioning of collectives under the new economic conditions. In this area as well the quota policy of many union ministries is a cause for alarm.

In conjunction with this the questions of how to reinforce production discipline, reduce work time losses and conserve material and energy resources become particularly acute. There are still many opportunities in this area, and we have by no means made proper use of all of them.

The Central Committee Buro has devoted constant attention to the development of capital construction. The annual plan for capital construction has been fulfilled for all basic indices.

But there are also problems requiring better solutions. Organizations under the Ministry of Construction have been slow to make the transition to full cost accounting and self-financing, and collective contracts are being introduced too slowly. Meetings and talks with the administrators and workers of construction organizations indicate that their work is being hampered by shortcomings in planning and material-technical supply and a low level of engineering preparation for construction jobs. We face a task, that of completing the transition to collective contracts in all construction organizations by the midpoint of 1988. And that task must be accomplished.

The Central Committee Buro has devoted a great deal of attention to housing construction. Measures to ensure fulfillment of housing construction plans and to improve the quality of housing built have been outlined. However, these measures are not being realized in a satisfactory manner. Despite the fact that the housing construction plan for the first two years of this five-year plan was fulfilled, the housing problem remains acute. More than 145,000 families were still waiting to receive apartments at the beginning of the current year. And that figure represents no decrease as compared to previous years.

We cannot be satisfied with the rate at which housing is being built in rural areas. Greater attention must be devoted to the matter of provision of public services and amenities for rural settlements. The Central Committee Buro, the Council of Ministers, Gosplan, the State Agroindustrial Committee and other departments should take measures to ensure that over the next three or four years full public services and amenities will be provided for the central settlements of kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and that during the 13th Five-Year Plan the same will be provided for auxiliary settlements and the territories of production centers.

Recently the Buro approved a program for resolving the housing problem in the LiSSR by the year 2000. The accomplishment of that program is a vitally important matter for all of us. Therefore the tasks involved in its realization should be monitored by all Buro members and all Central Committee members, regardless of the collective in which they work. Gosplan, ministries, departments, enterprises and soviet ispolkoms should constantly seek additional means and opportunities for ensuring that the goals of this program are constantly fulfilled and overfulfilled.

Increases in the efficiency of capital construction remain a sore point. The comprehensive program for the intensification of construction during the 1986-1990 period is also not being carried out as it should. Recently we have experienced an acute shortage of many building materials, yet the construction of facilities comprising the base of the Ministry of Construction and the Ministry of the Building Materials Industry themselves has fallen far behind schedule. The construction sciences and design organizations are not restructuring fast enough. There are frequent cases of incomplete or technically outmoded designs being submitted for construction. Many construction projects are excessively complicated and expensive. The primary culprits behind all these shortcomings are R. M. Sakalauskas, candidate member of the Central Committee and chairman of Gosstroy, B. A. Sheshplaukis and S. P. Yasyunas, who are Central Committee members and ministers, and A. K. Baltushis, candidate member of the Central Committee and chairman of LiSSR State Committee for Agroindustrial Construction. They should take action to amend this situation. It is essential that plants producing bricks, structural reinforced concrete, metal buildings, cement and other materials be renovated and expanded more quickly.

The Central Committee department headed by Central Committee member A. A. Dauksha should monitor much more strictly the progress of restructuring in the field of capital construction and the implementation of all party decisions pertaining to that sector.

Recently the Central Committee Buro has spent a great deal of time studying ways to improve the functioning of transportation. However, we have still not managed to get the administrators and party organizations of transportation enterprises and organizations to effect a radical improvement of their work. The construction of natural gas filling stations and the transition of vehicular transport to that form of fuel are proceeding too slowly. Railway workers and many industrial enterprises are not fulfilling their plans for delivery of freight on schedule or their goals for efficient utilization of rolling stock. The Central Committee's Transport and Communications Department (Central Committee member P. I. Gabrenas, chief) must set higher standards for the administrators of organizations under its jurisdiction, guide their work in a more effective manner and monitor strictly the implementation of decisions on these matters.

As you are aware, A. K. Brazauskas, Central Committee secretary, is in charge of coordination of all the Central Committee Buro's work in and is responsible for the status of the fields of industry, construction and transportation. He should definitely stop intervening in current economic matters, learn political methods of leadership and devote more attention to the development and organization of key decisions and long-range issues. He should also be stricter in demanding the swiftest possible restructuring of the work of the appropriate Central Committee departments, ministries and departments, and local party and soviet organs.

Under the new conditions the role and responsibility of the Central Committee's economic departments and of all republic economic departments are increasing. Comrades V. P. Yankauskas, B. A. Zaykauskas, Ya. V. Kiryushchenko and R. A. Sikorskis and the heads of banking institutions should render greater assistance to enterprises, farms and organizations in their preparations for operation under the new conditions are soon as possible.

In its guidance of the agroindustrial complex the Central Committee Buro strives to implement unyieldingly the party's course toward the swiftest possible resolution of the food problem and unconditional fulfillment of production tasks and goals for state procurement as outlined in the Food Program. During the first two years of this five-year plan some positive results have been achieved, and these have already been noted.

But now we face qualitatively new tasks in the agroindustrial complex, tasks which require an appropriately new level of party leadership. All kolkhozes, sovkhozes

and other agricultural enterprises and the food processing industry have begun operating under conditions of full cost accounting and self-financing. This requires that Buro members and all our cadres have new views on and new approaches to resolution of all matters pertaining to the further development of the agroindustrial complex.

One priority task of the Central Committee Buro, Secretariat and Department of Agriculture and the Food Industry, party gorkoms and raykoms, and primary party organizations is to ensure strict monitoring over and bring about the swiftest possible restructuring of the work of all administrative organs in the agroindustrial complex, every farm and every enterprise in accordance with the new requirements. But the most important thing is to intensify work with cadres and set higher standards for all agricultural cadres. No, we will not be giving orders, instructing farm administrators and specialists what, when and how much to sow or harvest, or how to resolve other matters pertaining to day-to-day operations. But we should not and will not tolerate those administrators who either cannot or do not want to do their jobs independently, on the basis of cost accounting. Now, on the eve of the accounting-election campaign on farms and at enterprises, it is still not too late for party gorkoms and raykoms in conjunction with primary party organizations to take a detailed look at the administrative staff of farms and cost-accounting subdepartments and make the appropriate changes where necessary.

How should we resolve the problems posed by the new conditions of economic management?

Above all it is essential that we increase our efforts to raise further the overall level of economic management and agricultural and cattle breeding practices, work more persistently to achieve further intensification of agricultural production, increase production output, reduce production overhead and improve the quality of goods produced. The Central Committee Buro has devoted constant attention to these matters. There have been some positive results, but not in all sectors, at all farms or in all rayons.

Last year we made significant progress in the area of grain production. The yield of grain crops rose to 32 hundredweights per hectare, and the total harvest was 3.5 million metric tons. Can we say that the problem has been solved? By no means. We are far from reaching our full capacity, because 34 farms did not even get a yield of 20 hundredweights per hectare, and there were some which did not manage 12 hundredweights. The majority of these farms are located in Yurbarkskiy, Ignalinskiy, Kayshydorskiy, Moletskiy, Kapsukskiy and a few other rayons. I feel that no further commentary is necessary.

Nor is there any justification for failures in the area of potato production. In spite of repeated decisions on this matter, we now find ourselves in a very unenviable position, particularly in view of the results which have been achieved in Belorussia. This is not the first year that

this has happened. It is time to finally establish order and really tackle the task of introducing progressive experience with potato cultivation among the administrators of many rayons and Gosagroprom and orient farm administrators and specialists toward that experience.

We have not succeeded in solving all problems in the area of fodder production. Our weakest points in that respect are the protein problem, and recently at many farms the problem of pasture fodder as well. There is no justification for the slow introduction of fodder beans as a supplement to grain. A similar situation prevails in the area of rape cultivation. We must also make a decisive shift toward the cultivation of corn with technology which will permit silage to contain a larger amount of nutritious substances.

There are quite a few unresolved problems and untapped resources in the area of cattle breeding. In many rayons calves are underweight when sold. A slowdown in the growth rate of productivity from the milking herd is cause for particular alarm. Over the past year our lag behind the ESSR in this respect has actually increased. Specialists from Gosagroprom, RAPOs and farms are devoting far too little attention to the breeding of pure-bred heifers. In Yurbarskiy, Tauragskiy, Utenskiy and Telshyayskiy rayons the productivity of primipara heifers is less than 3,000 kilograms of milk, and at some farms this figure is less than 2,500 kilograms. Inadequate use is also being made of highly productive dairy cows of imported breeds. It should be stated frankly that Gosagroprom is essentially limiting its activities to monitoring of current plans while assigning secondary importance to matters upon which long term development will depend. We cannot continue to work in this fashion.

We should also keep current work such as the wintering of cattle and preparations for spring field work under constant supervision. Over 20 percent of all seed for grain crops still does not meet first-class standards. Only one-third of all flax seed and 55 percent of all perennial grass seed meet those standards. Not all farms have put an adequate amount of seed potatoes in storage. There are also other failings to which the CPSU Central Committee has drawn our attention. We must intensify organizational work at the local level, render farms comprehensive assistance so that they can complete equipment repairs and all other work in preparation for spring on schedule, ensure that cattle are highly productive, and ensure that every farm has comparable cattle production.

The material-technical base of the food processing industry is being renovated, technically reequipped and expanded too slowly. That industry has already begun to lag behind growth rates for agricultural production. Plans for the construction of facilities in the food processing sector are not being carried out. We discussed these matters at a meeting last month and passed another

republic Central Committee and Council of Ministers resolution. In this area as well we must achieve strict implementation of discipline.

We need to examine specifically the role and work of our republic Gosagroprom. It has not yet become a unified, focused mechanism of economic management. As before its workers are not providing adequate solutions to the problems of many kolkhozes and sovkhozes. This applies primarily to organs of material-technical, repair and agrochemical services. The heads of farms and enterprises say that material-technical supply did not improve with the establishment of Gosagroprom. The quality of equipment repair and other services is poor, yet the price of those services has risen.

Yu. I. Vernatavichus, Gosagroprom chairman and member of the Central Committee Buro, G. P. Konoplev and V. N. Eynoris, Central Committee members and his first deputies, should act with greater resolve and work to eliminate these shortcomings in particular. They themselves should more quickly change their work style. It is essential that the structure of the apparatus be improved, ridding it of superfluous, redundant intermediary subdepartments and branches, erecting a sturdy barrier against the flood of paperwork which is still swamping administrative organs, farms and enterprises in the agroindustrial complex. But the most important thing is to create a firm link between the republic and rayon levels of administration of cost-accounting relationships with farms and enterprises, combine their interests and subordinate them to a common goal: achievement of high end results at farms and processing enterprises.

The Central Committee's Agriculture and the Food Industry Department (Central Committee member Yu. V. Simniskis, chief) should deal more aggressively and intolerantly with all shortcomings. The Central Committee Buro and all members of the Central Committee who work in the agroindustrial complex and are responsible for sections of it need to be more active, work harder and speed up resolution of the food problem.

In conclusion of this discussion of the Central Committee Buro's economic leadership tasks, I would like to focus your attention on realization of restructuring in the administration of our republic economy. A general administrative diagram is being drawn up. Implementation of that diagram will begin on 1 July of this year. The Central Committee Buro faces a task; essentially that task is to simplify the administrative apparatus and make it more efficient, so that it will meet the requirements of this new stage of restructuring. Those cadres who have the most experienced and are most capable of working under the new conditions should remain in the administrative apparatus. At the same time we need to concern ourselves with those people who will lose their jobs, finding employment for all of them, if necessary organizing retraining so that they can work in other sectors of the economy. It is also very important that now, in the process of restructuring the administrative

structure, we ensure swift and efficient performance of all current tasks. Central Committee members are fully justified in expressing their concerns on this point. We should do everything possible to ensure successful fulfillment of plans for the first quarter and the year as a whole.

#### Accelerating the Resolution of Social Problems

Guided by the instructions of the 27th Party Congress concerning all-round activation of the human factor and intensification of the social component of party policy, the Central Committee Buro is devoting more attention to resolution of a whole complex of social problems. Tasks pertaining to housing construction, including housing construction in rural areas, have already been discussed.

One highly important problem to which the Central Committee Buro has been constantly seeking a solution is consumer goods production, provision of paid services, and satisfaction of the public's demand for such services. Realization of the Comprehensive Program on Goods and Services is producing some results. Since the beginning of the current five-year plan goods worth almost 180 million rubles have been produced above plan. As of this year all industrial enterprises at which it is economically feasible will be producing consumer goods.

However, the Central Committee Buro has still not succeeded in changing the attitude of some party committees and economic administrators toward consumer goods production. Up to six percent of all enterprises and associations are systematically not fulfilling their consumer goods plans, and up to 15 percent have reduced their production volume of such goods.

Our republic has still not formulated a scientifically-based assortment policy and has not created a unified, efficient system for studying and predicting demand. Light industry, local industry and other enterprises continue to produce products for which there is no demand. At the same time requests from trade outlets by no means always correspond to market demand, and this leads to shortages or surpluses of certain goods. Although it has been discussed repeatedly at Central Committee plenums and resolutions adopted on this matter, nevertheless Central Committee members and ministers P. P. Mitskunas, I. K. Ramanauskas and G. K. Simenenko lack the persistence to carry them out. Central Committee member N. V. Raguotis and candidate Central Committee member I. I. Izvekov have also tolerated similar situations.

We must make broader use of the possibilities offered by cooperative and individual work by citizens in the area of consumer goods production. But we also need to direct and coordinate cooperative and individual labor activity better. We are still not masters of the situation in

that area and we are not exerting any significance influence on it. Gorispolkoms and rayispolkoms have assumed a passive stance on this matter. The Central Committee Buro drew attention to this when it considered this matter in December of last year.

An unfavorable ecological situation has arisen in some of our republic's cities and rayons: the water, air and soil are being polluted. There are still many shortcomings in the operations of health care organs and in public health care in general. This represents a major failing on the part of the Central Committee Buro, one from which we should and will draw the appropriate conclusions.

#### Affirming a New Style and New Methods of Ideological Work

The LiSSR CP Central Committee Buro has directed party organizations and the republic ideological aktiv to restructure ideological-educational work and increase working people's political, social and labor activism. However, efforts to achieve a radical breakthrough in the ideological background for restructuring have not yet been successful.

The CPSU Central Committee was quite correct in pointing out that we are committing significant mistakes in our ideological-political educational work, especially with regard to internationalist education of working people, as well as in our efforts to counteract the foreign-inspired campaign of provocation surrounding the Soviet Baltic republics. This is the result of inadequate work on the part of the Central Committee Buro and Comrade L. K. Shepetis personally, A. Yu. Chesnavichus, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and Central Committee member, the Central Committee's Propaganda and Agitation Department, and many party committees and primary party organizations. Comrade L. K. Shepetis should restructure more decisively ideological work in our republic, be more demanding, and resolve acute problems more boldly and thoroughly.

The Central Committee Buro has considered in detail the incident of an assembly of nationalistic elements in Vilnius on 23 August of last year, an assembly inspired by Western subversive centers. A thorough appraisal was given of the serious failings in the work of party organizations with regard to ideological-political education of the public and to passivity and inertia on the part of a segment of our ideological aktiv. The Central Committee Buro has approved a comprehensive program to intensify the ideological-class, internationalist, patriotic and atheistic education of working people and to make our counterpropaganda more aggressive. We must ensure unconditional realization of all planned measures, raise the level and improve the content, forms and methods of ideological-political education. It is essential that we note in a timely manner and repulse decisively any and all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and clerical extremism. Our aktiv should work more quickly to

master the skills needed for active and aggressive propaganda, political discussions and open, trenchant polemic. This applies in particular to the board of the Znaniye Society.

The CPSU Central Committee has deemed our atheistic educational work with the public unsatisfactory. It has become evident that nationalistic manifestations are showing a stronger and stronger link to clericalism. Although the Central Committee Buro and Secretariat have devoted attention to atheistic education, that attention has been insufficient, and at the local level there have been few real, positive changes thus far. At Central Committee Buro plenums and meetings held since the 27th CPSU Congress we have not heard a single account by a party gorkom raykom specifically on the subjects of atheistic or internationalist education. One-half of our gorkoms and raykoms have also not considered this matter.

We have repeatedly criticized the party's Alitus Gorkom and Lazdiyskiy, Kelmeskiy and Raseynskiy raykoms on account of the insufficient effectiveness of their atheistic work. In these and other rayons work with individuals has been neglected. A number of party committees do not set high standards for the party and Komsomol organizations of schools. Quite a few children, teenagers and young adults are under the influence of the church. Even among students all is not well. Yet VUZs have curtailed the teaching of a special course on atheism.

There is especially much work to be done with young people. The Komsomol's Central Committee and many of its gorkoms and raykoms are demonstrating carelessness and passivity in the ideological-class tempering of young people and are not doing enough to channel their energy in socially useful directions.

The Central Committee Buro is dissatisfied with the rate of restructuring at general educational and higher schools. The Ministry of Education (Central Committee member V. P. Spurga, minister) has not been able to achieve a breakthrough in this respect, and certain party and soviet organs at the local level are not taking any initiative.

Central Committee Buro discussion of the work of the republic Academy of Sciences Social Sciences Department indicates that restructuring has still not taken place in social scientists' work. There has been no radical shift in science away from research just on key economic problems and toward research on social and cultural practices and ideological and international processes. The Academy of Sciences Presidium must pay the most serious attention to the matter of improving its guidance of scientific research by social scientists.

The Central Committee Buro has not devoted enough attention to purposeful formation of moral culture in our republic. Substantial gaps in efforts to reinforce socialist

law and order are evidence of this. Last year there was an increase in the number of dangerous crimes like robbery and theft of personal and state property. Recidivism has increased.

Despite repeated measures by the Central Committee Buro, party and state organs and many labor collectives have begun to lose ground in the struggle against drinking and alcoholism. Illegal alcohol distillation and the custom of drinking continue to spread. Last year there was an increase in the number of crimes committed by persons under the influence of alcohol. The worst situation in this respect exists in the city of Kaunas and in Akmyanskiy, Vilkavishkskiy, Ionavskiy, Pasvalskiy, Radviliškskiy and Ukmergskiy rayons. This is happening because the struggle against drunkenness is not being fought on a broad front, and there has not been sufficient pooling of efforts by all the concerned organs and organizations. Our main strength — the public — has still not become properly involved in the struggle against this evil. We must draw serious conclusions from this and act accordingly.

The work style of law enforcement organs is changing too slowly. As before their work contains instances of a bureaucratic attitude toward people and their lives. Last year 32 individuals indicted by law enforcement organs were subsequently acquitted by people's courts. This is a flagrant violation of human rights and the principles of socialist legality, and no one has the right to tolerate such things, especially S. G. Lisauskas, head of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Central Committee member, and L. A. Sabutis, republic procurator.

Our republic masters of the arts should make a more significant entry into the all-union arena with new works, and strike a stronger internationalist chord in those works. Criticism should play a more active role in this respect; sometimes criticism ignores important stages in the development of literature and the arts and ignores certain creative individuals, especially those of the older generation.

These matters should be the subject of special attention and influence by the Central Committee's Culture Department (Yu. Yu. Paletskis, chief) and by party gorkoms and raykoms. The primary party organizations of creative unions and cultural institutions should assume a truly militant stance.

The Central Committee Buro has devoted its fixed attention to improvement in the work of the mass informational and propaganda media and to increasing the effectiveness of their presentations. However, we have not yet achieved the requisite level in their work. A substantial portion of articles and broadcasts are still characterized by superficiality, dullness, avoidance of analysis of the most important problems of our republic or of a given region, and fear of in-depth, trenchant

criticism of shortcomings. These failings should be eliminated more quickly by party committees and by comrades Yu. Yu. Kuolyalisk, A. K. Laurinchukas and V. K. Yemelyanov and the directors of the mass media in cities and rayons.

Communists and all the working people of our republic are preparing a fitting greeting for the 70th anniversary of the proclamation of Soviet power in Lithuania and the founding of the Lithuanian Communist Party.

However, a handful of nationalistic and religious extremists, incited by Western anti-Soviet centers, are attempting to counter these dates, so dear to all of us, with a so-called "Lithuanian independence day," thereby attempting to incite nationalism and hatred of other peoples and undermine the unity of our society. Party committees and soviet organs at the local level should do everything possible to prevent these hostile attacks.

#### **Increasing the Activism of Party Organizations, Improving the Work of Party Committees**

However, it should be noted that many party committees are still only slowly mastering political methods of leadership. Discussion by the Central Committee Buro on matters pertaining to restructuring of work style and methods in Prenayskiy, Lazdiyskiy, Pakruoyskiy and Shakyayskiy party raykoms and in the party committee of the Auksine varpa Kolkhoz in Radvilishkskiy Rayon indicates that a number of party gorkoms and raykoms are continuing to waste their time and energy resolving numerous current economic problems; this also kills initiative and independence and strips cadres of their responsibility.

Many party committees are guiding primary party organizations poorly and have not yet managed to genuinely rouse all of them to the cause of restructuring. One-third of the communists surveyed prior to this plenum felt that party work in their organizations has remained at its previous level and that no positive changes have taken place. Over one-half of the communists surveyed felt that the principal factor hindering restructuring is the fact that the party aktiv and party workers have still not learned to work under the conditions of restructuring. These are alarming facts, from which we should all draw the appropriate conclusions.

One highly important task is to expand the vanguard role of communists. Toward this end a process of sociopolitical certification of communists is being conducted in our republic. However, this process also includes instances of formalism, and in some places it is completely disregarded. Only recently have communists in Anikshchayayskiy, Kayshyadorskii, Kaunasskiy and Rokishkskiy rayons begun undergoing certification.

The party's influence is directly dependent upon reinforcement of party ranks. It should be noted that in this respect the Central Committee Buro and party gorkoms and raykoms have exhibited significant shortcomings. Over-organization and acceptance into the party on the basis of established quotas and characteristics have led to a situation in which not all those accepted for party membership have become genuine communists and in which unworthy individuals have slipped into the ranks of the party. The situation has improved somewhat in the wake of implementation of the CPSU Central Committee resolution on Tashkent Oblast. But reorientation toward real individualized work with persons applying to join the party is still occurring too slowly.

Plenums of party committees and party meetings at which elected organs give accounts of their restructuring efforts present good opportunities to intensify the mobilizing role of party organizations on all aspects of life. The majority of these plenums and meetings have in fact taken place in a businesslike manner, with a great degree of activism and frankness on the part of communists, and have been notable for the trenchant nature of their discussions. However, the level of some meetings was not up to present-day standards. Many of them continue to suffer from an inclination toward economic matters and a lack of in-depth analysis of the work of elected organs. Communists did not in all instances demonstrate sufficient thoroughness in their evaluation of the work of individual secretaries and members of party committees and party buros. At the accounting meetings a total of 95 members of party committees and buros were recalled, including 41 secretaries of primary and shop-level party organizations. However, only in seven cases was their work pronounced unsatisfactory.

After analysis of the accounting meetings the Central Committee Buro was forced to take an extreme measure and declare those meetings which were conducted improperly invalid and require that they be reconvened. Almost 350 party committees and party buros were required to give account of themselves again. This is a fact from which we should draw the most serious conclusions for future reference.

We must ensure that preparations for plenums and party meetings are always conducted most painstakingly, collectively, with the involvement of the broad party aktiv. At this point it is appropriate to say a word about the role and place of representatives of higher-level party organs. Their tasks is not merely to attend a plenum or meeting and note shortcomings, but also to assist in a timely manner and not permit a formalistic approach to the conducting of the plenum or meeting in question. Unfortunately, the plenums of the party's Kapsukas Gorkom and Moletskiy and Razeynskiy raykoms were conducted in the customary manner, excessively regimented and vague, without any criticism directed at individuals.

Thus, changes in the style and methods of party work, implementation of cadre policy, and reinforcement of democracy and glasnost are not easy tasks. This is a

direct result of an insufficiently activist position on the part of the Central Committee's Buro, Secretariat and Organizational Party Work Department.

The LiSSR CP Central Committee Buro is fully aware of its responsibility to the party organization of our republic, to the CPSU Central Committee, and to our entire party. Faced with growing tasks at this new stage of restructuring, we can see our shortcomings and undone work more vividly. Today we have spoken self-critically about many of them to the members of the Central Committee. We hope that the participants in this plenum will supplement this analysis with their own frank and critical speeches, constructive suggestions and comments. Let this plenum serve as a serious lesson for all of us and become the starting point for further improvement in everything we do.

The LiSSR CP Central Committee and its Buro are filled with the resolve to mobilize and lead the communists and all the working people of our republic to successful implementation of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, a fitting reception for the 19th All-Union Party Conference and realization of all the tasks posed by this new stage of restructuring.

12825

**BSSR Council of Ministers Sums Up the State of Republic for 1987**  
18000239 Minsk *SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA* in Russian 27 Jan 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "In the BSSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] On January 26 the results of fulfillment of the State Plan for economic and social development and the republic State budget for 1987 were discussed at the meeting of the BSSR Council of Ministers. At the same meeting the tasks of fulfilling the 1988 plan and budget were determined. It was noted that as a result of realizing the strategic course of the Party directed toward acceleration of socio-economic development, strenuous work, and creative initiative of working collectives, the republic achieved the fulfillment of the main requirement of the plan and budget. The industrial national income increased compared with the planned level of 1986 by 6.7 percent instead of the planned 6.3 percent, and the volume of industrial production increased by 8.4 percent compared with the planned 6.3 percent. Productivity of the public work increased by 6.6 percent compared with the planned 6.2 percent. The tasks of producing and selling to the State most of the types of agricultural production; of using State capital investments; of completing the building of housing, schools, preschool day care centers, outpatient facilities, clubs, and palaces of culture; of transporting freight by rail and truck and consumer good production; retail circulation of commodities; and volume of paid services to the population are fulfilled.

At the same time, as it was noted at the meeting, the work of a series of the BSSR ministries and departments, oblispolkoms, and the Minsk gorispolkom, had serious shortcomings, which negatively affected the development of some branches of national economy, and satisfaction of many life requirements of the people. A number of associations and enterprises are not fulfilling their contract obligations with regard to delivery of industrial products and their quality, and the planned targets concerning labor productivity growth.

The achievements of scientific-technical progress did not find wide application in the national economy. The BSSR Ministry of Forestry and Paper Industry (comrade Kravtsov); BSSR Ministry of Construction materials (comrade Bilyukovich); BSSR Ministry of Water Economy (comrade Shakhnovich); BSSR Ministry of Bread Products (comrade Yakushev); BSSR Gosagroprom (comrade Nikitchenko); and BSSR Academy of Sciences (comrade Platonov), did not fulfill the plan concerning the development of science and technology.

In the agroindustrial complex many kolkhozes and sovkhozes slowly change their work with regard to increasing their economic activities. A number of farms reduced meat production compared with 1986. Vitebsk oblast did not fulfill meat and wool production plans, and the average daily cattle weight increases during growing and feeding are reduced. Serious shortcomings continue to take place in the organization of transportation, processing, and storage of agricultural products.

Serious shortcomings are taking place in financial and economic work. The number of planned unprofitable enterprises is not practically reduced, which is intolerable under conditions of transferring enterprises to full cost accounting and self-financing. Resource conservation has not yet become the main source of providing the further growth of production volume.

The BSSR Council of Ministers guided by the decision of the 27th Party Congress, subsequent CPSU Central Committee and Belorussian CP Central Committee Plenums, Belorussian CP Central Committee Buro directives, and data for discussing the project of the republican plan and budget for 1988, committed the BSSR ministries and departments, oblispolkoms, and Minsk gorispolkom to develop and realize the complex plan for mobilizing the available reserves to assure the stable and smooth work of associations, enterprises, and organizations in the current year; to assure implementation of discipline and order at production facilities; and to consider the fulfillment of contract obligations to be the task of an utmost importance.

It is requested to widen the work of implementing into life the mostly economic method of management at all levels with a strict observance of rights given to enterprises in accordance with the USSR Law on State enterprise (association) suppressing any attempts to violate these rights.

For successful realization of the social policy developed by the 27th CPSU Congress, the BSSR Council of Ministers demanded that the ministries and departments, oblispolkoms, and Minsk gorispolkom take effective measures for strengthening the material basis of the socio-cultural sphere, to continue the search for reserves in order to improve food supplies for the population, increase production of consumer goods and paid services, and to widen construction of housing and social-cultural facilities. To concentrate the efforts on increasing the effect of scientific and technical progress on qualitative structural shifts in the economy, putting into service fundamentally new technology, equipment, and materials, and fulfilling plans concerning science and technology. To increase the efficiency of using the industrial potential, to assure the efficient use of raw materials, fuel and power, and other material resources.

Special attention of the BSSR Ministry of Trade (comrade Petrushkevich), the Belorussian Union of cooperatives (comrade Grishchenko), oblispolkoms, and Minsk gorispolkom shall be directed on the necessity of taking efficient measure to improve the work of trade enterprises by widely using the new conditions of management and involving into commodity exchange the additional commodity resources.

The BSSR Gosagroprom and oblispolkoms must take the necessary measures to ensure organized cattle wintering, assuring the quality and efficient use of fodder, creating the necessary conditions for work and rest of cattle farmers. To provide the timely and qualitative preparation of seed materials and agricultural machinery for spring sowing. To spread wider the progressive forms of labor organization and stimulation; collective, family, and rental contracts, and payments for labor depending on gross income. Taking into account the determining role of the construction complex in creating conditions for the dynamic development of republican economy, the BSSR Council of Ministers and departments, oblispolkoms, and Minsk gorispolkom to improve the management of construction, to provide the necessary organizational and operational help for enterprises and associations involved in construction using their own funds; specifically examine the problem of the enterprise readiness to fulfill the planned program of construction using their own financing; supplying them with local construction materials and transferring into their temporary possession, or lease, the construction machinery.

Ministries and departments, oblispolkoms, and Minsk gorispolkom are offered to organize at working collectives and enterprises an active work of mobilizing the available reserves for assuring the dynamic development of all production sections in order to appropriately meet the 11th All-Union conference of the CPSU.

A series of other measures to improve the work of ministries, department, and the ispolkoms of local Soviets of peoples deputies was contemplated.

The Chairman of the BSSR Council of Ministers, M.V. Kozlov, addressed the meeting.

The 1st secretary of the BCP Central Committee, Ye.Ye. Sokolov, and the Chairman of the Presidium of the BSSR Supreme Soviet, G.S. Tarazevich, participated in the meeting's work.

13355

**BSSR CP CC Criticizes Work of BSSR Academy of Sciences, Other Ministries**

*18000280 Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 26 Feb 88 p 1*

[Excerpts from unattributed report: "In the Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau"]

[Excerpts] At its regular meeting, which took place February 24, the BSSR Communist Party's Central Committee buro discussed measures to improve the work of the BSSR Academy of Sciences and to increase the contribution of scientists, as well as all scientific personnel, to achieving the economic and social goals raised by the 27th USSR Communist Party Congress.

The resolution adopted by the BSSR Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers noted that the BSSR Academy of Sciences makes a contribution to basic research in the current directions of natural and technical sciences. The academy's scientists have solved a number of problems in mathematics, optics and spectroscopy, the study of various materials, instrument building, the development of new materials, genetics, and physiology. The link between science and industry is being strengthened.

At the same time, the scientific and technical resources of the Academy are not being used effectively enough. The concentration of efforts and resources in the high-priority areas of basic and applied research has not been ensured. Academic science has little influence in the development of such key industries as machine building, information processing and computers, chemicals, and construction. No tangible results have been achieved in solving very important problems in agriculture.

Small has been the contribution of the Academy's social scientists to the study of problems of economic management, to the historical analysis of the workers' struggle to build a socialist society, and to the philosophical examination of contemporary realities.

There are serious shortcomings in the work with scientific personnel. The quality of graduate studies is low, and quotas for preparing qualified personnel in the high-priority areas of science and technology are not being fulfilled.

The Academy's technical and experimental equipment falls short of modern standards, and many social questions have been solved poorly.

The BSSR Communist Party's Central Committee buro and the BSSR Council of Ministers asked the management and the party committee of the Academy of Sciences to implement the necessary measures to increase the role of science in achieving high-priority as well as long-term goals which would help accelerate scientific and technological progress and social and economic development of the nation and the republic. The BSSR Academy of Sciences' proposals on the general direction of scientific research and its proposed measures to improve and develop scientific and social facilities of the Academy for the period to the year 2000 were approved.

The meeting of the BSSR Communist Party buro analyzed the ongoing work in the republic to eliminate the aftereffects of the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and the implementation of party and government directives on this subject. Additional industrial, social, medical, and preventive measures were prescribed.

The BSSR Communist Party buro discussed the unsatisfactory pace of construction of agricultural machinery-producing plants in the republic. BSSR Communist Party obkoms and gorkoms were directed to intensify the organizational and political activity of the grassroot party organizations at construction trusts and client organizations, aimed at mobilizing the working collectives to fulfill under any circumstances the plans for construction and bringing on line production capacities in agricultural machine building, together with the necessary daily life facilities.

The meeting considered how the republic is implementing the party and government decree on overcoming drunkenness and alcoholism. It noted that party, soviet, economic and law-enforcement entities, as well as many enterprise, kolkhoz, sovkhoz, and organization managers, have slowed their activity in that area. At a number of collectives and party organizations there appeared an attitude of equanimity and liberalism toward drunkenness.

Ministries and agencies have not joined the battle against this evil with proper intensity. For instances, in the BSSR Gosagroprom system, every fifth traffic accident involves drunken drivers. The activity of the Ministry of Higher Education BSSR, the Ministry of Public Education BSSR, the State Committee for Vocational and Technical Education BSSR, the BSSR Komsomol Central Committee, and the law-enforcement agencies responsible for prevention of drunkenness among young people and adolescents has not been effective. Locally, improvements in organizing the people's leisure time have been slow. The formalistic approach to the use of cultural, educational, and athletic facilities has not been overcome. Traditions and customs which do not involve the use of alcohol have been promoted poorly.

The resolution adopted on this subject calls for a broad variety of additional measures to strengthen the fight against drunkenness and alcoholism, to affirm the sober way of life, and to create an attitude of intolerance toward this social evil.

The BSSR Communist Party buro discussed measures to improve the preparation and continuing education of the journalist cadres in the republic.

12892

#### Activities, Conclusions of Uzbek Crimean Tatar Commission

##### Limited Resettlement in Crimea Permitted

18300186 Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
6 Mar 88 p 7

[UzTAG report: "In the Republic Working Commission of Representatives of the Crimean Tatars"]

[Text] On 5 March, a regular, expanded session of the republic working commission of representatives of the Crimean Tatars took place in the city of Tashkent, to which the chairmen of the oblast committees were invited. Representatives of Soviet and economic organs of Crimean Oblast took part in the work of the session.

At the request of the commission, the first deputy of the Crimean Oblast Ispolkom, P. O. Fedulichev, gave information about the measures being taken by Soviet and economic organs of the oblast in regard to the fuller satisfaction of the conditions of social life and cultural needs of the Tatars living in the Crimea. A report was given about additional conditions for the study, by Tatars, of their native language and the organization of its teaching in still more schools in places where they live in compact groups. There has been an improvement in the supply of periodicals and literature in the Crimean-Tatar language, radio and television broadcasts are being made, there are tours of ensembles and other creative collectives. The Crimean Tatars, as the citizens of the other nationalities, are guaranteed the right to work and the equal provision with social benefits. They are appropriately represented in Soviet and public organs of the oblast.

The commission received detailed explanations concerning the procedure established by the government for the registration of citizens of all nationalities coming to Crimea for permanent residence, the elimination of groundless obstacles in this question, as well as the more accurate determination of the conditions for the registration of citizens in the resort regions of the Crimea. The members of the commission were informed about the execution of the organized resettlement of families from among the Crimean Tatars in the steppe regions of

the Crimea in proportion to the creation of the necessary conditions, the rules for making provisions for them in material and other terms during their resettlement and their getting established.

The commission expressed its appreciation for the information presented on the work of the party, soviet, and economic organs of the Crimea with respect to the solution of the numerous questions being raised by the Crimean Tatars. In their turn, the representatives of the Crimea were informed about the life and work of the Crimean Tatars in the Uzbek SSR, the activity of the republic working commission in regard to the generalization of the proposals of the Crimean Tatars, and the securing, in the republic, of a calm and businesslike atmosphere for their solution. It was determined that the organized resettlement of families in the Crimea will be carried out by the organs of the State Committee for Labor and Social Problems above all from among the most deserving representatives of the Crimean Tatar people, those who have proved themselves in work and public life, upon the recommendation of labor collectives, oblast and republic working commissions of representatives of the Crimean Tatars. Measures have been outlined to strengthen the links of the commission with the soviet, economic and public organs of the Crimea.

The commission examined the procedure for its further work, the tasks of the oblast commissions, and a number of other questions.

The deputy chairman of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet, A. P. Romanovskiy, took part in the session and discussion.

#### Commission's Activities Detailed

18300186 *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian 11 Mar 88  
p 3

[Article by N. Umerov, member of the republic working commission: "The Activity of the Working Commission"]

[Text] As of 4 August 1987, the republic working commission of representatives of the Crimean Tatars has been working in Tashkent in the building of the Presidium of the UzSSR Supreme Soviet. During the past 7 months, a great deal of work in terms of volume and significance has been done. If during the creation of the commission its functions were strictly limited by the collection of information, its analysis, and the transmission of the essence of the information to the state commission, to the party and soviet organs, life has introduced some correctives into this work.

During its public activity, the members of the commission visited many labor collectives, where they told about the goals of the creation of the commission, discussed and exchanged views. The commission has received about 6,000 letters, applications and telegrams. 500 telephone applications have been recorded and more

than 2,000 visitors have been received. In this manner, more than 90,000 persons have been encompassed. (The DAILY REPORT: SOVIET UNION [FBIS-SOV-88-050] for 15 Mar 1988 contained an AFP item which incorrectly cited this figure as 9,000.)

People come to the commission with the most diverse desires, proposals, and complaints, and every one of them is listened to attentively, and the requests and desires are accurately recorded.

If during the first days of the activity of the commission various rumors were floated to the effect that people were not allowed to speak the truth, that people were silenced, and that facts, desires and proposals received by the commission did not find reflection in its materials, the people very soon became convinced that things were completely different and that the commission is carrying out its work frankly and openly.

During its activity, the republic commission prepared and sent a number of reports to the state commission on the Crimean Tatar question. Senior officials of the Uzbek CP Central Committee and the republic Supreme Soviet Presidium extended practical assistance in the work of the commission.

During the past year, the members of the republic commission traveled to Moscow, where they took part in a joint session with the working group of the state commission. Representatives of the working commissions from among the Crimean Tatars from Crimean and Kherson oblasts, Krasnodar Kray, and the city of Novorossiysk took part in this session in the Kremlin. Meetings of the working commission with the working group of the CPSU Central Committee took place.

On the basis of the reports received, the state commission, under the chairmanship of A. A. Gromyko, held two sessions, which were reported in the press, on radio and television.

In their letters, statements, and appeals, and in meetings in labor collectives, people have spoken with great approval about the activity of the state commission and about the work of the republic working commission and expressed appreciation to the party and soviet organs for the conditions that are being created for the examination of the complex of problems being raised by the Crimean Tatars.

The overwhelming majority of people in their letters and appeals and in the discussions in the labor collectives express a clear understanding that the solution of the Crimean Tatar question has political, economic and social aspects, which must be taken into consideration in the just solution of this question.

Thus, the republic working commission prepared and sent to the state commission reports generalizing all the concrete wishes and proposals with people came to the

commission. What is the essence of these wishes and proposals? The first question is to secure the move of the Crimean Tatar population, who desire to do so, to the Crimea, and, above all, to where an acute shortage of labor resources is being experienced.

In the letters and appeals of the workers it was noted that they understand the full complexity of the problem. Here the proposals of the Crimean Tatar population were advanced to proceed with the development of the virgin and foothill zones through the creation of new sovkhozes.

In its reports, the republic commission utilized all the concrete practical proposals with which people had turned to it. It is a question of creating conditions for those who are ready to acquire housing with their own resources, for which it was necessary to solve the problems of registration and employment. A part of the comrades expressed the desire to lease to the state private house-building, and in exchange to receive parcels of land and building materials. There were quite a few proposals for the creation of housing cooperatives.

In the letters and appeals, the understanding was expressed that there are zones where there are difficulties in obtaining housing and in employment, and for this reason people expressed the desire to live and work precisely where there is an acute need for workers. The republic committee received many letters, in which whole families and groups of young people expressed the desire to live and work in virgin lands, to live and work where there is a prospect of development, where there is land and water.

Although the question of the comprehensive collection of information and its processing and transmission to the state commission fell within the competence of the republic working commission, during the first months of its activity people frequently began to turn to it in regard to questions of notices of departure and registration. The commission, in its first report, informed the state commission about this. Some time later, the question of departure notification and registration was raised at the first meeting of the working groups in the Kremlin. As a result of this, great improvements took place, which removed the acuteness of the question.

It is necessary to note that in written and oral appeals questions about the state and development of national culture were also frequently raised. People talked about the fact that education, literature, and art must not stand still, that we, equally with all nations and nationalities of our country, must increase our cultural level. This question also found reflection in the reports.

In the fall of the past year, the management of the Khaytarma Ensemble and its leading artists appealed to the republic working commission. The discussion concerned the fact that the ensemble does not have the possibility of going on tour to those regions of the

country where Crimean Tatars live. With the help of the state commission, this question, too, was resolved. Khaytarma was on tour in Crimean and Kherson oblasts, Krasnodar Kray, and the city of Novorossiysk. Twenty-four concerts, thousands and thousands of grateful spectators. During the days of the tour, the local press gave broad coverage to the concerts of the ensemble, they were talked about on the radio, and Ukrainian television created a full-length television film, which was shown with great success on republic television.

The question of the development of Crimean Tatar culture enters organically into the complex of questions being raised by the Crimean Tatars. Precisely this is what we see in the reports from the sessions of the state commission. The solution of the questions finds reflection in all aspects. It is here that questions came concerning the instruction of the Crimean Tatar language in the schools, the publication of textbooks and educational supplies, questions of the development of literature, history and art. This was precisely the subject of discussion at the meetings in the commissions that was raised by writers, teachers, painters, artists, journalists and students during the first days of work of the republic commission.

Following the tour of Khaytar from Uzbekistan to the regions where the Crimean Tatars live, lots of fiction and documentary literature were sent. The young ensemble Efsane, whose concerts have had enormous success in the republic, has begun its activity. Today, as this article is being published, Efsane is preparing for its first all-union tours. And this will not simply be tours; central television will shoot a film about Efsane during its tours in the Crimea.

Concrete measures have been taken to provide for the study of the native language and the expansion of the publication of literature. A representative of the institute of the national schools of the country was in Tashkent. Plans for the publication of textbooks, educational materials, and school dictionaries were examined, and the deadlines for their publication were set. A concrete and concerned discussion took place in the UzSSR Ministry of Education to the effect that already in 1987 the instruction of children in their native language has begun in a number of schools of Crimean and Kherson oblasts and Krasnodar Kray.

In January, representatives of the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade were in Tashkent. A conference with the participation of writers, scientists, journalists, and publishing house workers was held in the UzSSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade. An all-union plan was composed for the output of Tatar-Russian and Russian-Tatar dictionaries and for the output of fiction, including that for children and young people, books on literary criticism, art history, etc. Included in the publication plan were: The books of Gasprinskiy, Umer Ipchi, Choban-Zade; other classics of

Crimean Tatar literature were also included in the publication plan. Plans were made for the publication of an anthology of poetry, books on musical culture, and folklore. It was decided to republish such books as "Yangyryay khaytarma" ("Zvuchit khaytarma") by Ya. Sherfedinov, "Alim" by Yusuf Bolat, "Ametkhannyn yylidzlyar" ("Zvezda Ametkhana") by R. Fazyl and L. Sofu.

The question of expanding the volume of broadcasting on republic radio and television and the question of broadcasting on all-union radio and television were also not left aside. In that way a number of questions was examined and solved in the plan of social and cultural development.

In the letters and oral appeals to the republic working commission, concern was frequently expressed about the fact that the resolution of the question is being dragged out somewhat. This aspect found reflection in the report of 29 December 1987. It should be noted that in meetings with the members of the state commission working groups there was an open discussion about the enormous volume of work that will still have to be carried out with respect to the solution of the Crimean Tatar problem. And it is gratifying to note that this work is being conducted.

No less open were the discussions about the fact that, in some regions of the country and in the republic, some persons with extremist orientations try to stir up the situation, incite the most impatient to action, to the collection of funds, and to the violation of the public order, and this in its basis complicates the situation and may lead to unforeseen consequences.

There have already been press reports about the session of the republic working commission to which party veterans, veterans of the Great Patriotic War, and veterans of labor were invited. All those who are interested in the positive resolution of the issue were invited. Invited were comrades from the oblasts and from the industrial cities of Tashkent Oblast. The speakers called for the unification of all Tatars and for the constructive cooperation with party and state organs in the speediest resolution of the national question.

There was a discussion of the fact that during this stage, when the Crimean Tatar question is moving toward its logical solution, when the republic through the straining of all forces is working to fulfill the plans of the third year of the five-year plan, when the difficult transition of many enterprises and farms to self-financing and self-payback is being carried out, and when there is talk about the incorporation of one of the chief elements of restructuring in life, the same restructuring that made it possible to raise the Crimean Tatar in its entire fullness, some people, who have arrogated to themselves the right to call themselves "representatives of the Crimean Tatar

people", try to organize mobs, manifestations, and marches, trying to prove that only in this way the solution of the problem can be accelerated.

In the session the idea was distinctly sounded that, first of all, such measures bring perceptible losses to the republic, that, in order to avoid violations of the public order and in order to avoid the slightest unforeseen conflict, funds are expended which should go for the construction of schools, hospitals and clubs. The fact was mentioned that such measures will bring losses to international friendship and give rise to needless rumors, gossip, discussions, and dissatisfaction among the population of the republic.

Against this background, a note of discord was sounded by the statements, at the session of the republic commission, of Fuat Ablyamitov and Eskander, who used the platform to inflame the passions and the opposition of the Crimean Tatars to the organs of authority and to impose their forms of influence on the Crimean Tatar population.

I would like to emphasize their disrespect for those who were present at the meeting, which expressed itself in the demonstrative withdrawal from the search for ways to solve the problem. Those present again and again talked about the fact that only our party and government will solve this question, that no protectors from abroad will accelerate the adoption of a solution.

The republic working commission continues to work actively. Dozens of people visit it with respect to various questions. All of them receive well-grounded answers and assistance.

8970

**UNESCO Committee Official on Uzbek Nationality, Social, Cultural Problems**  
18300187a Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
4 Mar 88 p 3

[Article by M. Mukhamedzhanov, chairman, Uzbek National Committee on the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere" Program, Academician, UzSSR Academy of Sciences: "For the Sake of Effect"]

[Text] We are justifiably proud of the fact that Uzbekistan is one of our country's most multinational republics. The representatives of dozens of peoples and ethnic groups live like one family on Uzbek soil. Thus it has been and will be. However, unfortunately, we often forget the true, profound meaning inherent in one of the main achievements of October—internationalism, the fraternal friendship and mutual aid among the peoples of the USSR. I thought about this once again at the extended conference of the Uzbek National Committee on the UNESCO "Man and the Biosphere" Program, when questions on the demographic situation in the

republic and its social consequences were considered. Very important topics, such as the medical and genetic aspects of family planning, were discussed.

The situation which has formed in this connection in Uzbekistan was straightforwardly characterized. Of course, the fact that infant mortality remains high, along with a high birthrate, caused the greatest alarm. A low level of urbanization, poor territorial mobility of the native population, the low share of Uzbek workers in industry and the small percentage of women employed in social production—all of these factors cannot help but negatively affect the socioeconomic development and living standards of the UzSSR population.

This situation in the republic is related to the period of stagnation and the negative phenomena characteristic of it, which have assumed a deformed, hypertrophied nature. The grossest errors and violations and the conduct of economics and planning on a anti-scientific basis were the bitter fruits of unjust management. In the final account, it is precisely these stagnation phenomena and a direct disregard for the achievements of scientific and technical progress, and not the population's high birthrate, that form the basis for the low effectiveness of social production and labor productivity. This was spoken of in direct and unambiguous terms.

The profound and true conclusion was made that regional demographic policy in the area of family planning should be implemented with an emphasized respect for national culture and the progressive features of family and everyday traditions and way of life of the native population. This is a topic for serious discussion, which we intend in the near future to illuminate in the republic press.

During the discussion it was emphasized, above all, that we should uplift the republic's economy, improve socio-economic conditions and raise the cultural standards of the population. In particular, all efforts should be directed toward developing and improving maternity and child protection.

Then suddenly, like a bolt from the blue, we heard the speeches of young writers at the conference. They used the rostrum to advance their own, to put it bluntly, ill-considered appeals to kindle national feelings. Evidently, ignorant of the objective and subjective reasons for the demographic situation which has formed and without proposing any reasonable, scientifically substantiated solutions to the problems facing us, they took it upon themselves to play the role of "arbitrators." Listening and becoming sincerely agitated by their demagogic slogans, I found myself thinking that it was not the fate of the people that worries these ardent champions of national self-determination, but a desire to show off, to plunge their listeners into a state of shock with the "courage" and "unusualness" of their opinions.

Beyond a doubt, they received a deserved and, above all, competent rebuff. However, how could it turn out that a certain segment of the republic's youth, called upon to participate in implementing the historic resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress, was clearly attracted by empty and sometimes even dangerous discussions, rather than by active participation in restructuring? Considering this, I concluded that one undoubtedly extremely alarming consequence of stagnation is still with us. These are the consequences of serious neglect in our ideological and moral work in the upbringing of youth. Hence, a lack of understanding and disregard by youth for our most important principle—internationalism—often arises.

Not accidentally, M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his speech to the February 1988 CPSU Central Committee Plenum that we must study national policy in the contemporary stage very thoroughly, on all lines—both in theory and in practice. This is the most principle-minded and vital problem of our society. Only thus is it possible to achieve a genuine, profoundly apprehended understanding of Leninist national policy, so that every person and nation can develop freely, so that every people can satisfy its needs in all realms of sociopolitical life.

13362

**Uzbek Council of Ministers Cites Public Health, Ecological Failings**

18300187b Tashkent *PRAVDA VOSTOKA* in Russian  
28 Feb 88 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "In the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers" on the 25 February session of the Uzbek Council of Ministers.]

[Excerpts] A regular meeting of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers Presidium was held on 25 February.

Serious shortcomings in the activities of ministries and departments and of the executive committees of local soviets of people's deputies in implementing measures stipulated by the comprehensive "Health" program were examined. During the discussion, it was noted that the republic's soviet and economic authorities have not drawn the proper conclusions from the requirements of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee and UzSSR Council of Ministers for the further improvement of medical services for the population. The republic Ministry of Health (Comrade S.M. Bakhrayev) is not fulfilling its coordinating role in these problems, as a result of which work to put the hospital bed network in order and to develop specialized types of medical aid, especially for women and children, is being carried out at a slow pace in the republic. To this day, the problem of organizing a republic pediatric center has not been solved, propaganda for raising healthy children and regulating the family is being done formally, and the population's clinic system is functioning at a low level.

The training of medical cadres is not meeting the demands made upon it and the professional knowledge of many doctors and secondary medical personnel remains low.

For 2 years of the 5-year period, 44 million rubles of capital investments for the construction of health care projects remain unused, which could have additionally made it possible to put 1,950 hospital beds and polyclinics capable of handling 2,600 patient visits per shift into commission. The funds designated for these purposes are being managed extremely inadequately in Bukhara, Dzhizak, Navoi and Samarkand Oblasts. Lack of discipline in fulfilling the tasks set by the program has been displayed by UzSSR Gosagroprom (Comrade T.N. Nabiiev), which over the last 2 years has failed the plan for building 26 rural out-patient medical departments and 22 feldsher-obstetric clinics. A particularly serious situation in the construction of these projects has formed in the Kara-Kalpak ASSR, Bukhara, Kashka-Darya, Namangan, Surkhan-Darya and Khorezm Oblasts.

The UzSSR Minstroy, Minavtotrans, Minmestprom and a number of other ministries, as well as the "Rezintekhnika" Production Association and the Fergan Chemical Plant for Fur'an Compounds, are not ensuring the timely commissioning of departmental medical-sanitary sections. Problems related to improving industrial labor conditions and to protecting the surrounding environment are being solved slowly, which promotes an increase in morbidity with a temporary loss of ability to work. A particularly unfavorable situation has formed in providing rural residents with running water, which leads to a growth in infectious diseases.

In its resolution, the Presidium notified the leaders of UzSSR Minzdrav, UzSSR Gosagroprom, UzSSR Minmestprom (Comrade U.K. Ismailov), the "Rezintekhnika" Production Association (Comrade Iskandarov), the Fergan Chemical Plant for Fur'an Compounds (Comrade Plesnin) and the contracting ministries of the fact that they bear personal responsibility for the unconditional implementation of the "Health" program. UzSSR Minzdrav was instructed, jointly with UzSSR Gosplan, the other ministries and departments involved, and the executive committees of soviets of people's deputies, once again to carefully review the tasks stipulated by the program and to outline and implement specific steps for radically improving the condition of medical service for the republic's population.

13362

**Makhkamov Speech at Tajik CP CC Education Plenum Outlines Problems**  
18300202 Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA  
in Russian 27 Mar 88 pp 1,2,3

[TadzhikTA report on speech by Tajik CP CC First Secretary K.M. Makhkamov at Tajik CP Central Committee Education Plenum: "Urgent Tasks for Restructuring Popular Education"]

[Excerpts] At today's plenum we must conduct an in-depth and constructive analysis, in the light of the materials of the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum, of the tasks facing the republic party organization on deepening the reform of popular education.

We must not shut our eyes to things which have become altogether obvious.

The popular education administration continues to operate mainly by bureaucratic methods, in a conservative manner. Attempts to solve the new tasks by means of issuing administrative orders have come to naught. Enormous harm has been done and unfortunately continues to be done by a mania for percentages, by which the quantitative indicators have become the principal operating criteria for the academic institutions, and the quality of learning has receded to the background. Serious lags have developed in the material base. There is a severe disproportion between the volume of school construction and population growth. Academic programs and methods have become obsolete and are divorced from real life. And there is a very clear downward trend in the quality of education in elementary schools, vocational-technical schools, and higher educational institutions. The level of knowledge of the graduates of many schools, especially the rural ones, will not stand up to any kind of criticism. And this chain stretches to the VUZ's and the secondary specialized educational institutions. And as a result, the national economy is receiving—to put it mildly—specialists who are less than fully-qualified.

Constructive methods for effectively restructuring popular education were defined at the February 1988 Plenum. Above all it is a question of introducing cardinal changes in putting reforms into operation in the general-educational and vocational schools. In principle they must predetermine, first of all, the formulation and the realization of the concept of a general secondary education for young people as the basis for subsequent training of cadres for all categories of skilled workers and specialists. Second, the secondary and vocational schools and the higher educational institutions must be re-equipped on a broad scale; transition to normative planning for developing the branches of popular education must take place, and in the future conditions must be created for making them partially self-supporting. Third, the changes must lead to the elimination of departmental barriers and to the conduct of what is in fact a uniform state policy in the sphere of popular education. For this purpose a single authority has already been established for administering popular education at the center, and corresponding units will be set up in the localities as well. Fourth, there must be fundamental transformations in the system for training and retraining pedagogical cadres. And fifth, all the forces of society must be included, through the mechanism of democracy, in the process of renewal and development of popular education.

Such an approach requires first of all ensuring that the general educational school is truly established at the basic link in the system of continuing education. It is called upon to provide quality secondary education to all young men and women. The elementary school of course, will continue to be polytechnical, labor-oriented, and uniform. And uniform not in the sense of monotony, herding all schools together under the same standard, but uniform as a system.

The first level, the beginning of the system of continuing education, is preschool training. However the situation here cannot but give rise to the most serious concerns. The 830 preschool institutions now operating in the republic take in 140,000 children, or 15.5 percent. In the rural area this figure is altogether unacceptable, and amounts to only 4.0 percent overall, for which we were justly criticized at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum. One of the principal reasons for this is the unsatisfactory situation with regard to construction and placement of preschool institutions. The lack of proper demandingness on the part of the Ministry of Education and the inert position on these questions on the part of many party and soviet organs in the localities have led to a situation in which the resources allocated for construction of preschool institutions every year are not even assimilated. Thus, in 1987 the plan for putting preschool institutions into operation was fulfilled by 63 percent; for Ministry of Education, by 50 percent; and for the Dushanbe Gorispolkom, by 57 percent. On the whole, since the start of the five-year plan, the shortfall in spending for these purposes is 7.1 million rubles. There are serious shortcomings here in the work of both the Central Committee and the republic Council of Ministers (Comrades G.G. Veselkov, Yu.P. Zatsarinnyj, A.D. Sukhanov, and especially A.R. Rashidov and M.M. Ikramov).

The system of departmental preschool institutions is developing poorly. Last year they taught only 36.5 percent of the children covered by public preschool education. This figure is nearly twice as low as the union level. At the same time numerous enterprises and organizations with 1,000 workers or more to this day do not have and are not building preschool institutions. These include the following: the Dushanbe Bakery Association; the Shveyemestprom No 1, Guldast, Dilorom, and Tadzhikatlas Associations, as well as transportation and health-care associations and many others. Of 157 kolkhozes, 70 do not have continually-operating preschool institutions; and there is not a single kindergarten in 82 of 302 sovkhozes. Because of poor supervision on the part of party committees and soviet authorities, many of the farms in the republic are not carrying out their task for transforming the seasonal sites into continually-operating preschool institutions. This very day, Lenabad, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Oblasts, and Gissarskiy, Leninskiy and Tursunzadevskiy Rayons could expand their preschool institutions by 5,500 seats in such a way that would not cause them additional expenditures. One

would think that if they truly got down to business, by the end of this five-year plan the situation would be largely corrected, and by the next one the problem would be completely solved.

Also alarming is the situation in which children's institutions continue to be built according to plans not included on the active list. The quality of construction in many cases is incredibly poor. The position of the republic Gosstroy (Comrade V.A. Yakubov) here is incomprehensible.

It is very important for everyone to fully understand that in the radical expansion of the children's preschool institution system we cannot rely on state capital investments alone. The current five-year plan envisages a 1.7-fold increase, whereas we require a 27-fold increase in capital investments. We must seek out reserves and nonstandard solutions. Much could be gained by enlisting the assets and the forces of the enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, ministries and departments, as well as the participation of all the republic's citizens in solving these problems. The Tajik CP Central Committee expresses its profound gratitude to those citizens of Pendzhikentskiy Rayon, who decided to donate their own personal savings to construction of public projects. At present more than 200,000 rubles have poured in to an account opened for this purpose. And yet another problem. The material base for a significant part of the preschool institutions remains very poor, and does not support even the most primitive training for the six-year school. Out of 830 nurseries and kindergartens more than 30 percent are situated in makeshift accommodations, and do not have the basic conveniences. And there are not enough supplies, furniture or educational games.

Also requiring further improvement is work on training cadres and increasing the skills of workers in the preschool institutions. Many of them do not have the required number of specialists. Thus, out of 830 kindergarten and nursery supervisors, only 55 percent have a higher specialized education; and of 8,000 teachers, only 17.5 percent have a higher education. Nine-hundred-forty-six of the workers employed as kindergarten teachers have only a secondary general education. Here the question arises, what is becoming of the graduates of the Preschool Education Department of the Dushanbe and Kulyab Pedagogical Institutes? After all, in the last two years they have graduated 135 people. In addition, it should be pointed out that the institutes of the Ministry of Education, which are supposed to perfect the teachers' knowledge, are not providing courses for retraining or increasing the skills of the workers at preschool institutions on a timely basis.

Moving on to the next stage in continuing education, the elementary school, here we must also declare that the material base for training and education is extremely

poor, which makes it practically impossible to implement the changes which were introduced for the reform of the general-educational and vocational schools at the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

Today only a third of the general-educational schools are located in standard buildings: about 500 school buildings should be torn down; 280 do not have electricity; and 80 percent of the schools operate on a two or three-shift basis. A number of populated areas have neither schools nor classes in general. School lunches are not organized satisfactorily; food is provided for less than a third of the students. Tasks set by the republic Council of Ministers to expand this system are systematically not fulfilled. Passivity and indifference toward these problems are displayed by the ministries of education and trade, by the Tajik Union of Consumers' Cooperatives, and the ispolkoms of local Soviets of People's Deputies. Here there is a glaring lack of demandingness and stringent requirements on the part of the party organs.

Questions of providing computer literacy to school pupils and widespread introduction of computer technology to the academic process demand our attention. In many cases the computer education equipment which has been acquired sits idle: on the one hand, there is little of it; and on the other, there are neither accommodations for it nor trained cadres, as was the case at Schools No 8 and 23 in Gissarskiy Rayon and No 189 in Leninskiy Rayon. Lessons in information science are not conducted in the majority of the rural schools, or are conducted perfunctorily, without the use of a computer.

The attitude of many basic enterprises and farms toward their obligations will not hold up to any sort of criticism. The reform has changed virtually nothing here. Only the most out-of-date educational equipment is provided to the schools, poor-quality materials are furnished, and then only after persistent inquiries. I have no intention to cite examples, since this is the usual picture for most cities and rayons. On the whole 72 percent of the secondary and eight-year schools do not have workshops for the service trades, and nearly 2,000 schools do not have special-purpose rooms for manual labor. But you see industry has been called upon to participate in job training for the pupils, but not in the form of extremely limited sponsorship but as an interested party. Unfortunately, quite often both the economic administrators and the communists at the enterprises forget about this. And it is no accident that a significant number of the basic enterprises do not provide the pupils with workplaces, instruments, or cadres for training the young people in their professions.

Many farm administrators have been unable to carry out a basic turnaround in setting up multi-sector continuously-operating student brigades as structural subdivisions of the kolkhozes and sovkhozes. And there is yet another very serious failing in this matter. The students are for

the most part employed at a single kind of manual labor or else are simply used as an auxiliary workforce for patching over all sorts of deficiencies on the farms.

The question of the job orientation of the pupils abuts directly on this topic. We are always talking about it, from the very highest rostrums. But the returns from this logomachy is, to put it bluntly, insignificant. Sociological research shows that hardly any graduates of the schools possess more or less clearcut guidelines for the choice of their future profession.

This occurs largely because not enough attention is devoted to introducing the young people to technical subjects. In 1984 the republic Komsomol took up a broad program for universal technical education for the young people, and worked out a special-purpose comprehensive program on this issue. Sizable organizations set about assisting in this matter. However, lacking control and organizational work, the program quietly disappeared from the sphere of practical matters. We must return to this question. A republic magazine ILM VAKhAET—NAUKA I ZhIZN, which is to begin publication next year, should provide a solid foundation for the universal technical education of the young people.

Recruiting young people for social production is a serious problem. For instance, in 1986 industry failed to attract one-fourth of the increase in labor resources. This problem is becoming extremely acute in connection with the transition of enterprises and organizations to complete cost-accounting and autonomous financing. Today the level of employment in the republic for those completing school amounted to 10 percent for industry and 2.4 percent for construction; whereas the overwhelming majority of the young men and women—from 70 to 90 percent of the able-bodied workers—gravitate toward agriculture.

Questions of strengthening the academic-material base for training working cadres in the system of State Vocational-Technical Training demand no less attention. At the present there is not a single standard school in the republic which meets current needs. Forty-four schools out of 83 are situated in makeshift accommodations, constructed according to standard school plans. There are not enough special classrooms or laboratories for general-educational disciplines; nor are there enough textbooks and training aids, workshops or lathes. Hence the low quality of training and the lack of satisfactory skills among the young people. You see it is no coincidence that out of those graduating in 1986, for the republic as a whole only a little over one-fifth were hired by construction organizations. And almost a third of those completing a vocational-technical school with an agricultural curriculum were not employed in their specialty.

On the whole the vocational-technical schools train cadres for agriculture; thus, whereas in the years of the 11th Five Year Plan one-third of the students were

trained for that sector, 15 percent were trained for construction; 12 percent for industrial enterprises, and about 12 percent for the non-industrial sphere. At the very same time there are already more mechanization specialists than are needed on the farms of Leninabad, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab Oblasts. For the republic as a whole, the surplus in mechanization specialists is greater than 2,000 persons. Yet the training of such specialists continues at the very same level.

We are still not taking sufficient advantage of opportunities for training highly-skilled labor cadres in the vocational-technical schools of the RSFSR, the Ukraine and the Baltic Littoral. At the same time we are not making rational use of those cadres which have been trained there. For instance, in 1987, the organs of the labor system found jobs for only 600 out of 2,000 people sent to vocational-technical schools in the RSFSR and the Ukraine in 1985. In most cases they find jobs by themselves, and quite often apart from their speciality. And you see in recent years we have been sending 6,000 people off a year. This work must be organized properly.

There are numerous cases in which people who have graduated from the country's central VUZ's are not offered work in the speciality they have acquired. One might ask what guidelines are we using when we send the young people off? One day their job placement will have to be decided at the level of the Central Committee.

At the present time, when transition has been completed to training specialists on a contractual basis, which envisages compensating the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialized Education in the amount of 3,000 rubles for each specialist trained, the ministries and departments are struck with another extreme. Now the numbers in requests for specialist training are in the single digits. Refusing to conclude contracts are the Ministries of Housing and Municipal Services, Local Industry, and Construction, as well as the State Committee for Gas Supply and the Tadzhik Main Administration for Power and Electrification. And this, at a time in which a significant number of the engineer positions are being filled by technicians or even students doing practical work. In order to establish order here, the given question must be studied at all enterprises, under the general direction of Goskomtrud and Gosplan, and on this basis precise and practical plans must be drawn up for training and retraining cadres in consideration of the prospective development of the branches. We have been talking about this for years, but there is still no state procedure in this matter.

We must provide the younger generation the skills to orient themselves in the complex and contradictory currents of contemporary life; to realize their class interests, their socialist legal and ethical norms, their social priorities, and their true values.

In intensifying this aspect of educational work, the study of the historic past and local lore on the history and economy play a large role. Specific facts and events in the history of the country, republic, or populated place, and their correct interpretation contain a great moral and educational potential. Here in-depth study of questions of economic geography, ecological problems and ways to solve them should be approached with respect. Profound knowledge of one's native region brings a young person closer to an understanding of the concept of Motherland. It should be stressed that the need for bringing up the young people to study the history and to have a grasp of the culture of the nation is not a tribute to fashion, and is not the desire of a few people, but is an integral part of communist upbringing. Unfortunately, the task for purposefully formulating a sense of history among the young people and assimilating the cultural heritage of their people has to this day not been realized, for all practical purposes.

The situation is almost amusing. Pupils at a number of schools in the Voseyskiy, Komsomolabadskiy, Kabodiyenskiy, Leninskiy, Dangarinskiy, Garmskiy and a number of other rayons—and moreover, not the lower grades—were unable to answer such questions as, "What is our Motherland called and what is its capital?" or "How many republics are there in the Soviet Union?"; and they were unable to say a thing about the Komsomol, the Pioneer organizations, and so on. One might ask, what did their history and geography instructors teach them?

I would like to dwell on the problems of studying the history of the Tajik people. Presently it is studied in a general course on the history of the USSR, and 40 hours in all are devoted to it. The times demand that this course be re-examined and deepened. Naturally, new textbooks are needed as well. The Ministry of Education is trying to take the first step, and in January of the last year announced a contest for creating such a textbook. But even this smacks of formalism, and a superficial, oversimplified approach to the matter. The conditions of the contest were published only in May of the last year, thus its period had to be extended accordingly. But the main thing is that the contest was announced in the absence of any new programs, hourly scale, and so on. Then on what should the contestants orient themselves? Nor have important publishing and financial questions been solved. If these problems are not cleared up, there will likely be no textbook by the year 1990.

And of course, special attention of all levels of popular education should be devoted to patriotic, internationalist, and atheist education. We spoke of this in detail among the ideological aktiv in August 1986, and a comprehensive program for internationalist and atheist education of the citizens of the republic for the years 1987-1990 was developed and approved. However, as the report of the Ministry of Education to the Central Committee Secretariat shows, the apparatus of the ministry and its subdivisions in the localities are not carrying

it out satisfactorily. The assistance its scientific-pedagogical and methodological institutions are rendering to the school, the teachers and the family is glaringly inadequate. They have not developed an effective system for internationalist and atheist education of the pupils; the experience of the best pedagogical collectives is rarely summarized; and there are no training aids which explain forms and methods of individual work among the children. And sociological research is poorly utilized.

At the same time we must learn to draw conclusions from the events which are taking place on the soil of international relations. Not everyone has learned his lesson from the negative phenomena which have taken place in Kazakhstan, and which are now taking place in Nagornyy Karabakh. And they teach us that it is high time that we switched from officious, mass measures, to concrete work in the classrooms, auditoria, and dormitories, and in the places where the young people live; to reach each and every young man and woman, and learn to actively influence the formation of their world-view.

It is very important to stress the special role of one's native language and the Russian language in the ideological-moral formation of the individual.

Attention to questions of teaching native and Russian languages and the formation of national-Russian bilingualism, is accruing great significance today in connection with the increasing mobility of the populace, worker migration, and in connection with the multinational make-up of all the union republics. Meanwhile, in recent years numerous lapses have occurred in practical work.

It is especially important to note the insufficiently high level of teaching of the Tajik language in the educational institutions. Poor knowledge of the national language by representatives of the non-indigenous populace has also been brought about by the fact that those teaching it have not been specially trained for that work. There are not enough good textbooks of training materials, bilingual dictionaries, or conversation books. And why should Minvuz not examine the question of opening a special department at the Tajik Philology Department for training Tajik language teachers for the Russian schools. We talk a great deal about knowing the Tajik language, but do little for its study.

But none of this will provide the desired results if we do not bring people of the non-indigenous nationality to a clear understanding of the fact that knowledge of the language of the people among whom they live is a mark of true respect, which opens enormous possibilities to raise the culture of international intercourse. This moment in our ideological work is yet to come. And it must be done by means of extensive propagation of the history and culture of the Tajik people, and not by pretension and edification.

In turn, under conditions of a multinational state, the role of the Russian language is exceptionally large. Having become the means of international intercourse voluntarily chosen by all the nations of the USSR, it serves as a most important means of introduction to the achievements of each nation and nationality of our country and to the world culture, as well as the achievements of science and technology.

But for the time being, except for textbooks for the national school, not a single Russian language textbook for the Tajik schools can be considered to completely live up to its purpose. The contents of the textbooks, the methods of providing the academic materials and their purposefulness will not stand up to any kind of criticism. They not only do not help, they even hinder the practical mastery of the Russian language. This has been known for a long time. But no practical steps to correct the situation are being taken.

Just take the situation which Comrade A.S. Shipilova, chairman of the Department of Pedagogics and Psychology at the Russian Language and Literature Pedagogical Institute, described. Every year the Institute, practically illegally, sends about 300 students to RSFSR VUZ's for practice in speaking Russian. And where is the concern of Minvuz for training highly-skilled Russian language instructors for Tajik schools?

In order to provide new impetus to this matter, the buro of the Tajik CP Central Committee has set up a working group to prepare full-fledged measures for developing Tajik-Russian bilingualism. Members of the group include well-known scholars and specialists, and soviet and party officials. In the near future its proposals, which take into consideration the opinion of the republic's working people, will be examined and approved. Party organizations must undertake concrete, purposeful work to carry them out. It appears necessary to set up several experimental schools in the city and in villages as early as next year, where these problems might be worked out on a practical basis.

At present the debate on bilingualism is intensifying. But except for ardent discussions, no systematic, concrete measures for solving these urgent problems are being undertaken, and above all on the part of those who are raising these questions. It is no doubt time to switch from alternative questions to alternative solutions, to practical matters for resolving the problems.

We cannot help but see that the situation with the cadres of teachers, instructors, coaches, and the professorial-instructor staff at the VUZ's cannot but give rise to the most serious concerns. I have already dwelt on cadres at children's preschool institutions. Now about the elementary schools: On the one hand, they are experiencing a severe shortage of teachers in many subjects, and especially in the rural area. Here blunders in planning for training teacher cadres and failures in coaching work among the student body have become tangled together in

a knot, which leads to a situation in which every year almost one in five VUZ graduates does not appear at his place of work. The necessary conditions for working and living are not always established for the teachers, and especially in the rural area. Many of them abandon the schools for that reason. And you see, this is the reason that the order was given that in addition to every school built in the rural area, an apartment house for teachers with a minimum of 12 apartments must be built. Local Soviets of People's Deputies are carrying out this order very badly. The fact of the matter is that no one is monitoring the situation. Thus we have not succeeded in acquiring clear-cut summarized data on just what has been done in the light of this order.

We encounter instances of exceptionally poor work by teachers right and left. A certain portion of them has a very poor grasp of pedagogical and methodological skills; they are not working to improve themselves; and they have lost whatever knowledge they ever acquired. There are quite often instances in which teachers are the bearers of obsolete views, or carry on an amoral way of life. This is not the first time this topic has been brought up. But for some reason the required level of decisiveness and adherence to principle in this questions are not displayed, neither on the part of the organs of popular education, nor on the party of party and Soviet organs, or the Komsomol. Here is one example. Over the last ten years, according to the results of attestation, in all only 56 teachers out of over 80,000 who were subject to attestation, were found to be unsuitable to pedagogical work. Incidentally, this measure has not become a means for disseminating progressive experience.

Out of more than 2,000 industrial training experts, only 262 have a higher education; the remainder have a secondary education. And only five of them have an engineering-pedagogical education.

In the secondary specialized academic institutions, out of 2,450 instructors, one-third have more than one task, and some of them carry up to 30 subjects. Out of 42 directors of tekhnikums, 15 do not have a basic education. Only 2.5 percent of the VUZ educators have a doctoral degree, and two-thirds of the total have no academic degree and title. And this cannot but have an effect on the quality of the academic and educational process.

There is yet another problem on which we are silent for some reason. This is the problem of the pensioners who continue to work in popular education. They comprise almost 4.0 percent of those in education, and in higher education, more than one-third. This topic must be approached on an individual basis, with great tact. There are numerous fine teachers and instructors who, having reached retirement age, continue to work conscientiously and with enthusiasm, under whose care children and students have flourished. But that is not the point. The point is that those who have become situated in their own kishlak and have set up a home of their own,

do not serve as an example, and are not the bearers of progressive views. It is a question of those instructors who have already been rejected by both the collective and the students, but whom the administration stubbornly supports. In addition to the damage to the quality of the academic-educational process they continue to artificially hold back an influx of young, energetic teachers. Their replacement is a natural process and a necessary one, and we must deal with it.

The nepotism, protectionism, group-think and trouble-making which takes place within the walls of the VUZ's is cause for serious concern. We have teachers, and school directors, who have abandoned their wives and many children, who have had divorces in accordance with religious rites, who have forbidden their daughters to continue their studies, who accept bride-money, and commit other unseemly actions. Unfortunately, one is seldom able to receive a principled evaluation of such instances.

A general rise in the public's pedagogical standards must be an important part of the work ahead of us. That is, we are talking about universal pedagogical training. We must rejuvenate the work of paternal universities, and make better use of the capabilities of the Znaniye Society and the mass information media for these purposes.

Many of the deficiencies of which we have spoken are directly associated with insufficient attention of party organs to this sector of work, and to the lapse in the level of party leadership. The work style of the republic's party committees in supervising popular education requires serious improvement, and continual development.

And it is no accident that the resolutions adopted by the February CPSU Central Committee Plenum require the Central Committees of the union republic Communist Parties and the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to decisively increase the level of political leadership in the sphere of education and training of the young students; to delve deeply into the substance of the work of academic institutions; and to competently resolve, in a businesslike manner, the problems which have sprung up.

The party organs at academic institutions must become more actively involved in perestroyka. This is an enormous force. Suffice it to say that in the system of popular education, there are almost 15,000 CPSU members in 1,488 primary party organizations. Among elementary school teachers, one in eight is a communist; among workers at tekhnikums and vocational-technical schools, one out of four; and among VUZ instructors, every third person is a communist. And at the very same time the secretaries of school, vocational-technical school, tekhnikum and VUZ party organizations have become a forgotten category of the party aktiv. And when they gather at the raykom, matters area often limited to expressing complaints about untimely submission of

information and accounting reports, or general instructions and recommendations and so forth. But there is no mention of differentiated studies, or specific assistance. Hence the extremely vague conception of how, for instance, a teachers' party organization can become the vanguard, or the catalyst of reform.

Today we must admit in a self-critical manner, that the system of party supervision of popular education, as a system of party work in academic institutions, does not exist. This has been confirmed at past plenums and party meetings at which the party buros and committees delivered reports on supervision of perestroyka. The reports of the buros of the obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms treated questions of supervision of popular education in a run-of-the-mill paragraph at best, the entire sense of which boils down to establishing the facts of a low level of supervision of popular education and the demand to unswervingly improve it. The party committees and buros at educational institutions also limited themselves to enumerating the shortcomings in academic-educational work, without in-depth analysis of its causes; without criticism of those who are to blame for this; and without defining ways to solve the complex and multi-faceted problems brought forth by life.

Many party organizations at schools, vocational-technical schools and tekhnikums need competent and objective assistance on the part of the party gorkoms and raykoms. The importance of this work is also determined by the fact that the primary organizations at the schools, vocational-technical schools and tekhnikums are, as a rule, very small, while 40 percent of the schools do not have any at all. Therefore, while working out a system for supervising popular education, the party obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms should give some thought to the fact that party influence on the lives of the schools, as was emphasized at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, evolved not only from the efforts of the teacher-party members themselves, but also from the party organizations of the basic enterprises, communist-mentors, and the apparatus of the party committees.

And of course, special attention must be devoted to the growth of the party stratum among the school teachers. Last year the party organizations of the Gorno-Bakhshanskaya Autonomous Oblast and Kulyab Oblast, and those of Ordzhonikidzebadskiy, Garmskiy, Gissarskiy, Dzhirgatelskiy and Fayzabadskiy Rayons did not receive a single teacher in the party from schools where there are no party organizations. At Secondary School No 22 in Fayzabadskiy Rayon, where there are only two communists, and one of them is a pensioner and the other the chief librarian, no one has been accepted for CPSU membership for 16 years.

The party considers the democratization of all social life, to include the sphere of popular education, to be an essential part of the renaissance of socialism, and a principal attribute of its contemporary, dynamic forms. The first steps in this direction have already been taken.

In recent years elections have been held for over 60 directors of schools, for four city and rayon directors of popular education, and for three directors and nine deputy directors of vocational-technical schools. The rector of the state university and three vice-rectors in other VUZ's were chosen by democratic methods. The practice of re-electing the professorial-instructor staff has been replaced by contested elections. Students have been brought into the scholarly councils of VUZ's, university departments, and degree commissions; their opinions are considered in analyzing the academic work of the instructors, and some of the concerns for improving cultural-domestic conditions have been transferred to them, which testifies to the expansion of student self-government. School activists and Komsomol leaders have also taken part in the August teachers' conferences.

However, analysis of the democratic processes testifies to the fact that they are as yet not very deep, and in many cases are of a superficial nature. The administrative-command method of leadership and control is still widespread. True, at present one finds almost no instances of exerting direct pressure on the elections or, let's say, rejection of documents for competing in an election. But something else has shown up, which has nothing whatever in common with the spirit of democracy and renewal. Outwardly it is as if everything is properly observed. The qualities of the teachers are discussed openly, and opinions are widely considered. But then the scientific council of an agricultural institute secretly approved the make-up of the attestation commission, without coordinating with anyone else. Another example: last May the Dushanbe Pedagogical Institute announced a competition for filling vacant positions for department chairmen; moreover, in one instance with the proviso that it be a "doctor of sciences." But in the given specialty there was only one doctor, you see. Similar cases were encountered in elections for directors of schools, vocational-technical schools and department chairmen. This is a profanation of competitive principles in cadre work.

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#### Kazakh Obkom Plenums Hit Internationalist Work of Rayon Leaders

**Aktyubinsk Obkom Plenum**  
18300191a Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA  
in Russian 1 Mar 88

[KazTAG report by K. Nauryzbayev and A. Rotmistrovskiy: "On the Basis of Internationalism. From the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Aktyubinsk Obkom Plenum"]

[Excerpts] The commission on national and inter-nation relations and the sector for national relations, and the public opinion study group are working systematically within the obkom. Steps are being taken to build up the

numerical strength of national cadres in industry, eliminate distortions in the makeup of individual collectives, and develop national language-Russian bilingualism. More materials about this have appeared in the press. New folklore ensembles have appeared, including German, Tatar and Bulgarian ensembles. The personal responsibility of leaders for insuring the proper moral and ethical climate and standards in national and internation relations is being enhanced.

Nevertheless, the speakers emphasized, it is essential to analyze more deeply and more specifically the situation at the local level and be more decisive in correcting unfavorable trends in some sectors and collectives. At enterprises in the ore-mining and chemical industries and in construction the proportion of workers of indigenous nationality is low. This situation has also come about at plants of the Aviation Repair Association, the Aktyubinskelsmash Association, the chromium associations and the Aktyubrentgen Association. At the same time, the excess labor force available in Bayganinskiy, Irgizskiy and Chelkarskiy rayons is not being recruited in those places. The managers and party organizations in the Aktyubinskagropromstroy Association and the Khromtaustroy and Chilisaytyazhstroy trusts are engaged in the economically less advantageous recruitment of people from other oblasts in the country rather than in forming national cadres of the working class.

Those speaking, who included the first secretary of the Aktyubinsk Gorkom S.B. Zhamankulov, chairman of the Chelkarskiy rayispolkom A.N. Marchenko, the editor of the oblast newspaper KOMMUNIZM ZHOLY N.T. Teleulov, first secretary of the Komsomolskiy raykom V.R. Lemme, vehicle operator from the Proletarskiy sovkhoz Z. Balmagambetova and others, noted that the problems in rational utilization of manpower had remained in the shadow for many years. This had promoted unjustified polarization in the levels of development in the rayons. During the 11th Five-Year Plan, of 43 industrial enterprises, branches and shops earmarked for construction, expansion and reconstruction, 30 had been in the cities of Aktyubinsk and Khromtau. In eight small towns and workers' settlements, only four were developed.

All our work, those speaking said, should be permeated with respect for the sensibilities, dignity and history of each nation and its culture, language and good legacy, as was indicated by the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. Unfortunately, bilingualism has still not become a standard in life. In Aktyubinskiy, Martukskiy, Novorossiyskiy and Mugodzharskiy rayons even workers in the party apparatus do not study Kazakh or Russian. Only one in ten students in the oblast has studied Russian more or less in depth. Some draftees speak it only poorly. The distortions in the national makeup of students and undergraduates are being eliminated only slowly.

At the plenum great attention was paid to enhancing the role of the secondary and higher schools in indoctrinating young people in the spirit of the unity and brotherhood of the peoples of the USSR. In this important matter it is essential to increase the contribution made by the system of political and economic education, which should insure in-depth study of the theory and practice of the party's Leninist national policy, particularly by leaders. Those who are unaware of or are unable to apply this knowledge in practice cannot remain in leading posts. Not all propagandists are making use of the training process to exert internationalist influence on students. In a number of cities and villages, questions of party nationality policy and relations between the nations, and atheism, are not dealt with during the course of the academic year. This is associated to no small degree with the revival of religious ritual and various kinds of vestiges in some places.

One of the most important tasks stemming from CPSU Central Committee decrees is the radical restructuring of work with cadres, and the decisive eradication of protectionism in the selection of workers according to family and tribal and local land association attributes and through considerations of friendship. Last year, 45 percent of the new enterprise managers, almost half of the shop and sector chiefs and 74 percent of brigade leaders in the oblast were elected.

Notwithstanding, not everything is satisfactory in the selection and indoctrination of cadres. When staff are selected for the apparatus of the Aktyubinsk Gorkom and the Alginskiy, Otyabrskiy, Martukskiy, Novorossiyskiy and Leninskiy raykoms, due consideration is not always given to the national makeup of the population. In Chelkarskiy and Irgizskiy raykoms, promotion to leading work according to local land association is permitted.

In the resolution that was adopted ways were defined for further improvement in international and patriotic indoctrination on the basis of realization of the economic reform, the development of democracy and glasnost, and improvements in political, organizational and ideological work.

Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee second secretary S.K. Kubashev spoke at the plenum.

CPSU Central Committee official A.P. Piskunov took part in the work of the plenum.

**Guryev Plenum Report**  
*Alma-Ata KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian*  
*2 Mar 88 p 2*

[KazTAG report by G. Groiser and N. Idrisov: "Fewer Words, More Deeds. From the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Guryev Obkom Plenum"]

[Excerpts] An atmosphere of apparent complacency and ostentation has for a long time been cultivated in the sphere of relations between the peoples. For years this

issue has not been considered at party committee meetings and plenums. Even the recent plenums of the Dengizskiy and Kzyl-Koginskiy party raykoms on international indoctrination were poorly prepared, and the state of affairs was not analyzed in depth at them. They cited some figures about the makeup of leaders and workers but there was only a casual mention of the mutual relationships between the different nationalities and about how they respect each other's customs and languages.

Now, when political rather than administrative work methods are being given priority in the party organizations, the personal involvement of leaders in the indoctrination of collectives is particularly important. But the first secretaries of the CPSU Guryev Gorkom, V.I. Toropkin, and of the Balykshinskiy raykom, K.T. Kosubayev, shift this concern entirely to the ideological workers. In his speech, K.T. Kosubayev failed to offer any principled assessment of the shortfalls in this work. After enumerating the measures, he preferred again to shift the responsibility for the negative phenomena in the inter-nation sphere onto his own subordinates, and he did not explain why more young people of the nonindigenous nationality are leaving the rayon.

The weakness of the propaganda influence and underestimation of the human factor are being felt palpably in the socioeconomic sphere in the oblast. The output-capital ratio is falling, and during the last five-year plan there was an output shortfall of more than R134 million. Personal, medical and trade services are obviously lagging and the return from the agro-industrial complex is low.

The speakers stressed that in order to affirm internationalist principles more actively it is essential to make more extensive use of the opportunities of socialist competition with workers in other oblasts and republics. We do have positive experience in this. Thus, the oil-refining workers are cooperating fruitfully with the collective at the Orsk Nefteorgsintez Association. The Zhaikneft Administration has traditionally competed with the Bashkir oil workers.

At the same time, however, failure to comply with contractual obligations for deliveries to other oblasts and abroad is being permitted by many enterprises. What kind of spirit of internationalism can we talk about, for example, at the construction materials combine and the sewn goods association, whose collectives are chronically letting down their customers?

The CPSU Central Committee decree noted serious shortcomings in the formation of national cadres of the working class—the main bearer and conductor of the ideas of internationalism. Within the oblast scant attention is being paid to this vital matter. One of the large organizations of the USSR Ministry of Transport Construction, namely, the No 99 Construction Administration, has been operating for a quarter of a century. But

there are extremely few people of indigenous nationality among its workers. At the old oil fields entire collectives of workers and specialists are of a single nationality. Neither can we regard as normal cases in which brigades are staffed according to the national affiliation of their leaders.

Disproportions have also appeared in the representation of the nations and nationalities in cadre policy. People belonging to 24 nations and nationalities are living in Balykshinskiy rayon, but representatives from only two of them have been elected as deputies in the rayon soviet. Expansion of its makeup in terms of international attributes has become an urgent matter for the entire oblast party organization. When people are admitted to the party, attitudes in any given collective of workers from different nations and nationalities are not always properly considered. Many of those attending the plenum expressed themselves in favor, during the compilation of certification testimonials, of having leaders indicate on a mandatory basis what they are doing specifically in terms of international indoctrination.

Little was said about today's most important project in the oblast, namely, the Tengiz Oil-and-Gas Complex. The experience gained there in strengthening the friendship and brotherhood of the people was not elucidated, and omissions were not analyzed.

Many schools and vocational and technical schools are little involved in shaping in students an active position in life and a sense of civic duty. The international friendship clubs are only of benefit when they become an integral part of well-considered, purposeful work with the rising generation. Some of them exist only on paper. When schools and vocational and technical schools are organized there is little material on the affairs of workers in other republics in the country. For some reason, at the pedagogical institute the settlement of students in hostels according to nationality is considered normal.

Great importance attaches to the study of Russian and Kazakh. But a considerable proportion of the circles set up for this is inactive. They are rarely found at places of residence or at enterprises where persons of the indigenous nationality make up 50 percent of more of the workers, namely, in the oil refineries and chemical plants, at the Plant imeni Petrovskiy, and at the transport association. Inadequate use is being made of the possibilities of bilingualism in visual agitation and during the conduct of meetings and conferences. There is a shortage of Russian-language teachers, while leaders in the oblast education department are showing no concern in this regard.

The question also arises that within the oblast there is not one single rayon newspaper in Russian. This is needed particularly in Embinskij rayon, where the representatives of almost 50 nationalities are working the new deposits.

Having revealed the shortcomings in international and patriotic indoctrination, those attending the plenum outlined measures to overcome them.

Chief of the Communist Party of Kazakhstan Central Committee Cultural Department K.S. Smailov spoke at the plenum.

CPSU Central Committee official V.A. Borovkov took part in the work of the plenum.

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### **Widespread Corruption Revealed in Uzbek Inturist Work**

*18300195a Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
19 Mar 88 p 2*

[Unattributed report: "Dirt Painted in Rosy Colors"; first paragraph is source introduction, final two paragraphs are editorial comment]

[Text] A situation of permissiveness and mutual guarantees has developed within the Tashkent department of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, which led to the moral decay of many employees and their abuse of their official positions.

On a high hill in the very center of Tashkent rises the Hotel Uzbekistan — one of our most beautiful buildings, probably not just in our own republic. Fashioned of glass and concrete, it provokes the praise not only of the city's inhabitants but, without exception, of all visitors as well. The fountains, the spacious grounds, the ancient square that stands opposite it, create an unparalleled picture, a joy for the eyes. It is not without reason that this hotel appears constantly on the television screens and postcards and in the newspapers and magazines of many countries of the world.

This hotel belongs to the Tashkent department of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism. The directors of the department are in agreement with its guests: this indeed is one of the best buildings in the republic. It is our accepted practice to give our guests nothing but the very best. For us, they say, a guest is dearer than a family member. They add to this how many foreign tourists come to Tashkent and, from Tashkent, go on to Samarkand, to Bukhara, to Khiva. And that the number of visitors is growing from year to year.

All this is so. Interest in the history and contemporary life of Uzbekistan is enormous throughout the entire world. Tourists come to us from all ends of the earth. And the hotel is, in fact, a beautiful one. But all this is only a facade, a surface well-being. And what lies behind it? How are they working in the Intourist department; how are guest services set up?

The statutes of the Uzbek SSR State Committee on Tourism state that one of its main tasks is to ensure the development of all types of foreign tourism within the republic in the aims of expanding contacts between the Soviet people and the peoples of foreign countries and of popularizing the achievements of the USSR and of the republic in the areas of state, economic and cultural development. These tasks, of course, apply entirely and fully to the Tashkent department as well.

And how is work going in the department? We will read from an official document. "Within the department, which, for foreign tourists, is the face of the republic, an exceptional situation of permissiveness and mutual guarantees has developed, which has contributed to crude violation of service procedures, to figure-padding and distortions of state reporting, to the moral decay of a part of the collective, and to abuses by officials. Within the department, speculative and currency deals with foreigners, the accommodation of gamblers, currency speculators and other anti-social elements in the hotel for long periods of residence, prostitution, theft, and overcharging and swindling of clients have become widespread."

During the past year alone, 18 thefts and losses of baggage, items, and money were discovered. The maids Vasilyeva, Agisheva, Kartashova, Borova, and others purchased items from foreigners. Gamblers, currency speculators, and other anti-social elements were registered for long periods of residence by administrative workers Dokuchayeva, Bertenyeva, and Ovchinnikova. Restaurant waiters Gorelov and Voronin were found to be acquiring foreign currency. Certain female employees entered into intimate relations with foreigners for pay.

By comparison with these facts, the scornful attitude taken toward tourists no longer seems scandalous. For 15 hours, four groups of Czech guests were unable to obtain their rooms in the hotel, and tourists from England, West Germany, France and Finland were given unsatisfactory accommodations. And, at the same time, in many rooms, there were people living who had no right to be in this hotel.

Prices in the restaurant and the work routine of the buffets, bars and shops have not met standards. It has become the rule, in the evening hours, to serve the "remunerative" clients, and to turn away foreign tourists because of "an absence of free places". During the past 3 years alone, 120 complaints were received concerning deficiencies in the work of the department: air conditioners do not work in the summer and rooms are not heated in the winter, there frequently is no hot and cold water year round, the cleanliness and equipment of hotel rooms and restaurant areas is not satisfactory, lateness and disruptions of motor vehicle transportation are frequent, standards of service are low...

What sort of tourism development and propaganda of our achievements is this?! These shameful facts create conflicts with tourists, discredit our society in their eyes,

give rise to aspersions concerning our reality, our system. In a word, they produce results which are directly opposed to the tasks which face the Intourist organizations.

So, who is chiefly to blame for this disgrace? Who has made a mess of his job and, in essence, corrupted the collective? This is the department's manager, K.Ya. Tulyaganov. You may wonder how he got away with all this, why neither the State Committee for Foreign Tourism, nor the Tashkent City Party Committee, nor the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Party Committee did anything about this manager, why they did not spot his "trickery". This many-sided man, with his feelings of personal immunity and of permissiveness, did not report the complaints of the foreign tourists, misinformed higher levels about his new style of work, and padded figures with regard to plan fulfillment.

In this he had the eager help of those close to him. Having selected many of his assistants based on indications of their personal loyalty, together with them, he did everything possible to make the department appear in a favorable light. And for this, Tulyaganov freed them of responsibility, stood up in defense of persons who compromised themselves, and propagated an all-forgiving attitude. Zayavutdinov and Ishankhodzhayev, who "succeeded" in messing up the areas of work assigned to them were approved as the directors of their sub-units at his insistence.

Once, at a session of the party buro in 1986, they subjected Tulyaganov to criticism for his style and methods of work with personnel. With the help of his own people, he set out to persecute his critics and began to create circumstances that were unbearable for them. Without necessary grounds, disciplinary proceedings were initiated of workers in the transportation section. N. Starykh, a cashier who dared to report incidents of padding, was given a reprimand. The deputy chief bookkeeper, M. Nurgalina, and the chief of the personnel section, A. Frolov, who criticized shortcomings in the department's work, were fired from their jobs. But the deputy director of the restaurant, Takhirov, and a deputy to the chief bookkeeper, Zhiznevskaya, who were directly guilty of padding figures and who were unable to cope with their obligations, were transferred to other organizations. Right up until today, Tulyaganov continues to protect individuals who have compromised themselves from criticism and from being fired.

Perversion of the principles of personnel policy, personal malfeasance, and the suppression of criticism have lead to the development of an unhealthy moral and psychological situation within the collective, to the formation of factionalism, to concealment by many employees of shortcomings and violations, and to the use of official position for purposes of profit. The department's chief bookkeeper, Ya. Srulevich, is permitting crude violations. The deputy director of the Hotel Uzbekistan, V.

Madiyeva, has serious shortcomings. Evasions of commercial operating rules are being ignored in the restaurant: thefts, the setting aside of products from the storeroom for speculative purposes, the carrying off of products from the kitchen, the sale of vodka to take out, etc., etc..

The matter has reached the point that workers in the transportation section have independently booked airline tickets for outside organizations. For these illegal actions, many employees of the department have been rewarded in the form of partial payment for their tourist travel abroad. And where do you think the money has come from? From the coffers of the Peace Fund. During the last four years alone, 13 workers have illegally been paid incentives totalling 3,400 rubles from the funds of the republic's Peace Fund. Among them were the deputy department manager L. Petrosova, transportation section employees Sukhova and Kamilova, and others. So, here you have the "peace doves", the "activists" of this international movement.

The department has become a warm nest for those who have not wanted to work in their own specialties. Specialists with higher education in technical fields and the humanities have landed in materially responsible positions as cashiers and buffet workers — Zakirov, Shadiyev, Karimbayev, and Dobrynina, who are teachers of the Russian and foreign languages, and Zagranichnaya, Demkina, and Biryukova, who are engineers in various sectors of the national economy.

The party organization of the department and its secretary, L. Kislova, have taken a passive stance in the situation that has developed. The members of the party buro, a majority of whom occupied management positions, knew about the violations and the malfeasance, but until very recently took the position of outside observers. The situation that had built up "exploded" at a meeting of party members which took place on 15 March. Here, for instance, is what the telephone operator, O. Lunin, chairman of the peoples' control group, said at it: "Many have come to work in the department for the sake of acquisitiveness. Theft and prostitution have developed, gambling has become honorable. They are passing out beer and delicacies. Tulyaganova should be excluded from the party and all those who have picked the state's pocket, who are not doing their work as they should, should be severely punished."

"Our working conditions are poor," said the doorkeeper Pultsin, "It is cold in the restaurant. But this isn't the only thing. Nobody is helping us to put things in order. Certain workers of the militia not only do not concern themselves with public order, but even go around drunk themselves. We reported this to the rayon division of militia, but there has been no result."

A great deal was said at the party meeting. But not everything. It was critical, but not completely principled. No, it did not exclude Tulyaganov from the party and it

did not raise the question of removing him from the position he occupied. And, indeed, much more can be added to what has already been said. According to the words of the employees of the department themselves, Tulyaganov frequently appeared in the hotel and the restaurant in an intoxicated condition, conducted himself disdainfully and crudely with his subordinates, and bribed inspectors with gifts.

The Uzbek SSR CP Buro has presented a principled evaluation of all the "affairs" in and surrounding the Tashkent department of Intourist.

For his destruction of work, for factionalism within the collective, repeated malfeasance, and for his uncritical assessment of his own actions, the Uzbek CP Central Committee excluded the director of the Tashkent department of the USSR State Committee for Tourism, K. Ya. Tulyaganov, from CPSU ranks. His continued utilization in the position he occupied was recognized to be inexpedient.

Cognizance was taken of the fact that a meeting of Communist Party members in the Tashkent department of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism issued severe reprimands, to be entered in their party registration cards, to the deputy director of the department, N. Khaymatov, and to the chief bookkeeper, Ya. Srulevich. Other party members were also called to severe party account.

For permitting negligence and red tape in the examination of complaints by workers in the Tashkent department of USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism, which exacerbated the situation within the collective and contributed to the creation of factionalism, the former secretary of the city party committee, A.V. Goncharov, was issued a severe reprimand.

The Uzbek CP Central Committee recommended to the republic council of ministers that it strengthen direction of the Uzbek SSR Main Administration for Foreign Tourism.

The Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro noted that the Tashkent City Party Committee displayed a lack of discipline and red tape in considering Central Committee directives regarding the Tashkent department of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism. It directed the party secretary of the Tashkent city party committee, B.F. Satina, to draw serious conclusions from this discussion and to take immediate measures to bring order to the collective and to strengthen the personnel department and its primary party organization.

It was called to the attention of the CP Central Committee division for information and foreign relations (E.K. Khantbayev) that there is a lack of thorough study of the

state of affairs in the Tashkent department of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism and a failure to insist that timely measures be taken to introduce order within this collective.

The Uzbek CP Central Committee demanded that the republic's Ministry of Internal Affairs (Y.S. Rakhimov) ensure undeviating fulfillment of party and government decisions concerning the strengthening of socialist law and order and that it increase the responsibility of militia workers for the introduction of exemplary public order within the Hotel Uzbekistan complex.

The newspaper's editors consider it necessary also to say what was not said in the Central Committee Buro, but has been said by party members and employees within the Intourist department. In personal conversations and at the party meeting, many of them justly asked: Just where were the workers of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Tourism looking if they really did not see all these disgraceful things? Why, on official visits, did they go right on by all these scandalous facts? There is a serious basis for these questions. The party members specifically named the officials from USSR Intourist who supported and took care of Tulyaganov, who sometimes were under his thumb, who successfully carried out all his whims, all the way to firing people who were inconvenient to him.

The editors hope to learn the reaction to the Central Committee Buro decision on the part of the Tashkent City Party Committee and the Kuybyshevskiy Rayon Party Committee, the Uzbek MVD, and other organizations which are charged with facilitating the development of foreign tourism and with providing cultural services to guests who come to our republic.

13032

**Uzbek CP Buro Notes Ecological 'Hysteria,' International Problems**

*18300195b Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian  
12 Mar 88 p 1*

[Excerpts from an unattributed report: "In the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro"]

[Text] A scheduled session of the Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro has taken place. At it, consideration was given to the question of the state of relations among nationalities and to strengthening internationalist education within the republic.

The resolution which was passed with regard to this question noted that, as a result of the fundamental socio-economic and cultural transformations which have been achieved during the years of Soviet power and thanks to the Leninist nationality policy of the CPSU, representatives of more than 100 nationalities are living in friendship, as a single family, within the republic,

among whom relationships have developed on the basis of equality, a commonality of interests, collaboration, and fraternal mutual assistance.

At the same time, the struggle against negative phenomena and the restructuring that have been unfolding within the republic have brought to light key omissions in the internationalist and the patriotic education of the population. Work being carried on in this direction is being conducted unsystematically, ostentation and formalism prevail in it, negative aspects are being hushed up, and sharp edges are being avoided. Manifestations of nationalism and localism in the economic, cultural and intellectual spheres are not being given the rebuff they deserve.

The consequences of the failures and disproportions which were permitted to occur in development of the economy, and of neglect in the social sphere, are being overcome slowly. Purposeful work is not being carried on to improve the social structure of the population, primarily through increasing the numbers of national cadres within the industrial working class. The problem of drawing the non-employed part of the work-capable population into social production is a pressing one and migrational processes are developing slowly.

Problems of the theory and practice of internationalist and patriotic education and of implementing the Leninist theory of nations and nationality relations under modern conditions are not being developed in depth in the activities of scientific institutions and are being insufficiently explained by mass information media and audio and visual propaganda means. Research and propaganda work is not doing enough to describe the joint struggle for social and national liberation which is being carried out by the workers of the East along with the Russian proletariat, the establishment and consolidation of Soviet power in Turkestan, and the decisive importance which friendship among peoples has in the building of socialism and in today's measures aimed at accelerating the social and economic development of the republic.

No breakthrough has been achieved in atheistic education, in the struggle against the religious prejudices which serve as an important brake on the formation of the ideological and moral bases of internationalism. Attempts continue to be made to pass off religious and patriarchal customs as national traditions and special local characteristics.

Errors are being permitted in educational work among representatives of a number of nationalities, where extremist attitudes and anti-social signs are being encountered.

The wave of demagoguery which surrounds the republic's ecological problems is a cause of serious concern. The truly complex and weighty questions which are connected with the health of the population and with

preserving the environment and historical and cultural monuments, and which require heightened, competent analysis and well-considered decisions, are being interpreted simplistically and irresponsibility by certain individuals, on a note of hysteria and with a stirring up of openly localistic and nationalistic views. Various kinds of false conjecture and harmful rumors are being spread in conjunction with problems relating to the demographic situation within the republic.

These facts are not receiving the open support they deserve from party and economic activists, scholars and the creative intelligentsia. Some of them are holding their silence, taking double-dealing positions, and demonstrating a lack of political principle.

It has been noted that existing shortcomings in work to foster a feeling of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism are engendering manifestations of chauvinism and nationalism, a contemptuous attitude by some toward representatives of other nationalities. They are leading to stagnation of migrational processes within the root population, to preservation of patriarchal views; they are having a negative influence of the moral and psychological and the ideological and political situation in Uzbekistan; and they are acting as a brake on the processes of restructuring and renewal.

The Uzbek CP Central Committee Buro placed an obligation upon oblast, city and rayon party committees and upon primary party organizations to activate decisively and to work intensively on the internationalist and patriotic education of the population in light of the directives of the 27th Party Congress, the February (1986) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and the decrees of the party Central Committee and to implement practical steps for its improvement. The Uzbek CP Central Committee's measures concerning this question were approved.

Certain other questions were also examined and appropriate decisions were approved concerning them.

13032

#### BSSR CP CC Discusses Agricultural, Environmental Issues

18000311 [Editorial Report] Minsk SOVETSKAYA BEGORUSSIYA on 18 March 1988 carries on page 1 a 600-word report on the 16 March 1988 session of the Belorussian Soviet Socialist Republic CP Central Committee Buro. One of the issues discussed was "how the republic had progressed on implementing a proposal on accelerating the development of the agro-industrial complexes' processing branches for 1988-1995. A significant gap exists between the production of the agricultural raw material and its processing. It was noted that for quite some time now the development of the processing branches has been lagging behind the requirements of

the national economy and the population. The strengthening and expansion of the material-technological bases of these branches is being carried out unsatisfactorily. Because of the lack of production strength, cattle, milk and other agricultural products are not being processed in a timely or effective manner, especially in Brest, Minsk and Mogilev Oblasts."

Also discussed at the meeting were questions connected with the execution of party and state decisions concerning a fundamental restructuring in the country's ecological matters. A resolution was passed stating that the

guarantee of the efficient use of the nature and preservation of the environment must be viewed as absolutely essential factors in the economic and social development of the republic. It was stated that "it is especially important to secure a favorable ecological environment in areas with a high concentration of industrial and agricultural production; foremost in Minsk, Mogilev, Novopolotsk, Gomel, Svetlogorsk, Soligorsk, Bobruysk, Grodno, Mozyr, in the Polessk lowlands region and in the Lake Naroch basin. A broad complex of organizational-practical measures involving restructuring of the republic's administrative organs which oversee ecological issues as well as measures for the further improvement of the environment were planned."

**IZVESTIYA Official on Glasnost, Perestroyka in Journalism**

18300213 Tbilisi MOLODEZH GRUZII in Russian  
13 Feb 88 p 7

[Interview with Igor Golembiovskiy, responsible secretary of IZVESTIYA: 'Time to Set Precedents'; first two paragraphs are unattributed source introduction; photograph; date and place of interview not given]

[Text] Today we are talking with the responsible secretary of one of the most widely read and prestigious newspapers in the country, IZVESTIYA.

Many of our readers probably have no notion of what a responsible secretary is. To use the comparison that is customary for journalists, the secretariat is the governing editorial staff, and the responsible secretary is the chief of that governing editorial staff. Igor Nestorovich Golembiovskiy began his creative career on MOLODEZH GRUZII in 1959. He was a correspondent, department chief, deputy chief editor. He has been with IZVESTIYA since 1966. He worked in various departments and on the secretariat, and he was the newspaper's staff correspondent in Mexico and the Latin American countries. From 1983 to the present time he has been responsible secretary.

[Question] Igor Nestorovich, let's not tire the reader with journalists' shop talk. The question that I am going to ask you now is unquestionably interesting both to our readers and to young journalists. What, in your view, is the newspaper's chief task in the era of glasnost and restructuring?

[Answer] To work for glasnost and restructuring. And there are examples of this. MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI began to write openly about dissidents and dissenters. OGONEK, after Korotich came, began the epic story of the Stalin era. IZVESTIYA was first to raise the problem of the state of mental hospitals and psychiatry in the country. Believe me, all this took considerable courage.

When we raised the topic of psychiatry, which for a long time had been a deep secret in our country, the Ministry of Health, as well as comrades from other official bodies, pounced on us with terrible force. We were besieged by phone calls, there were demands that everyone be punished and dismissed, and we were practically accused of anti-Sovietism. And it went on that way until the newspaper's line was supported at a conference in the CPSU Central Committee, where it was acknowledged that IZVESTIYA had very properly raised the complex question of the state of psychiatry in the country and that the government was working in that area. The time has now come when the press should set precedents. We must find the courage within ourselves and do what seemed utopian in just the recent past. We must open so-called closed zones as widely as possible for the public.

Let's call a spade a spade. For a long time, until just recently, the Soviet press was a staggering phenomenon: It was one of the least informative and, at the same time, it had tremendous circulations. Today the situation has changed for the better. This is indicated, among other things, by a sociological survey we conducted. Whereas previously the vast majority of readers read us for international news, the research shows that now the domestic and the world news are read about equally.

[Question] Revolutionary changes are taking place in the country. There is a struggle and a clash of ideas, and not just ideas. Where, in your view, does the front line of this struggle lie?

[Answer] In us ourselves, in our attitudes, first and foremost. But besides that, there is something else. Many people believe that the front line of the struggle lies between enterprising and progressively thinking people, on the one hand, and the obtuse bureaucrats and mafioso elements, on the other. But everything is much more complicated.

That which we are presently restructuring began to be established at the beginning of the 1930s and has operated until now with very few changes.

That system has tremendous experience behind it. Moreover, it continues to train and select personnel in accordance with its requirements. And what do the people have who are trying to actually change that management system?

But, despite that, I think that the process is irreversible. Under whatever circumstances. Because we have no other acceptable course.

[Question] And how is the restructuring process going in the editorial offices of IZVESTIYA itself? Obviously, the newspaper has become more readable and informative.

[Answer] Yes, unquestionably. But all that, of course, is also connected with people who came to IZVESTIYA at the beginning of the 1960s and who are now defining the newspaper's line. They include Karpenko, Vasinsky, Polikovskiy, Plutnik and Druzenko. But even during the apotheosis of stagnation, when the newspaper consisted of nothing but headlines that the top chief thought up (I remember one headline for a huge second-page, set in the largest possible type, that causes me to this day to wake up in a cold sweat: "Hens Against Canards"), a whole constellation of journalists arose on the newspaper staff who worked a great deal "for themselves." That is, they gathered and wrote material even though they knew that it would not be published. And that's not even to mention Agranovskiy. Even at that time he did things that seemed absolutely incredible. He wrote bold, profoundly thoughtful articles. And he could always defend his position. For example, here is one story. Agranovskiy once put together an article from Bulgaria about Bulgarian architecture. To all intents and purposes, it was an

article about Soviet architecture and its disgraceful state. The editor in chief wanted to remove a paragraph that spoke about that. But Agranovskiy put the issue this way: either the article is published with that paragraph, or he would quit the newspaper. The article ran without changes.

After that incident the editor in chief called me in, knowing that I was friends with Agranovskiy, and said: "Listen, Igor, tell Agranovskiy not to write anything and not to come to work, and we will even raise his salary. He's such a good journalist and looks so bad."

As for the purely organizational restructuring of the editorial offices' work, even here everything is complicated.

The whole problem of Soviet newspapers is that they are, in principle, collections of articles. That is not what a newspaper ought to be. A mass of events take place, and there is a flow of information. Very important and very interesting information. One must know how to deal with it. One must instill in people a taste for responding to ongoing events. The problem is by no means trying to keep up with television—that is senseless. The main thing is to comment on news in such a way that it assumes its proper place among other events and to convey it so the reader does not overlook it. And it is by no means mandatory that it be an earth-shaking sensation.

Right now we are experimenting with the second page. We have removed from it huge, indigestible pieces containing "real-life" problems that are interesting to no one. And we have filled it with news. At first we did not believe that it was possible, but as you see, it has happened. In order to do so, it was necessary to break down colossal resistance on the newspaper staff itself. No one wanted to write articles that were small in size but interesting to a large group of readers. Everyone wanted to grab 500-600 lines from the newspaper. Moreover, many of these articles were absolutely unreadable and crafted according to the so-called "recyclable" technique. A person would visit a bureaucrat, talk with him, and then conscientiously put everything down on paper. And we would print it. And no one would read it besides the journalist and the bureaucrat. Yet the author would feel that he was a big public-affairs writer. Indeed—500 lines in IZVESTIYA! And so, in order to break down all this, we took a formal path, but the only one that was possible. We took columns away from the most important, topical rubrics. However you want to do it, fit in the allotted space. We took 6.5 pages from the first columns. 3.5 remained. "Oh, that's impossible!" the authors said at the time. It turned out that it was possible. In general, there were arguments to the point that people got hoarse. The majority of the collective rejected that principle. And only now is the whole staff coming around to the idea that that is the sort of journalism—facts, authenticity, topicality, newsworthiness, and compression in the exposition of ideas—that is possible and necessary

today. You won't interest anyone with literary exercises today. The reader has become experienced. And therefore, that sort of journalism is irrevocably a thing of the past.

[Question] You have been in journalism almost 30 years. What has been most memorable and interesting in all that time?

[Answer] You are probably expecting me to talk about the period when I was working as a staff correspondent in Latin America. But for me my truly happiest days in journalism have been the early 1960s, when I was working on MOLODEZH GRUZII, and today on IZVESTIYA, when so much that is important and interesting is going on around.

On MOLODEZH GRUZII, I became a journalist. I wound up there unexpectedly. I was studying at the university and playing basketball. And in my spare time I was writing for MOLODEZH GRUZII, because I wanted to become a journalist.

And suddenly Alesha Nodiya, head of the propaganda department, whom I knew from the university (now he is editor of the magazine ROVESNIK), offered me work on the newspaper staff.

I was taken to Otar Kinkladze, who was editor at the time. He looked at me very sullenly and said: "Come to work tomorrow."

And I became a letter recorder with a salary of 450 rubles, although I never saw any letters. Two weeks later I was transferred to the Komsomol life department.

Otar Kinkladze was a real editor. He really knew how to fight against journalism of the word: the melodic sounds of machine tools and other "adornments." At staff meetings he would constantly reiterate to us: "What are you doing? Think first, and then write. The thought should come first, and only then the word." Although that was difficult. Journalism itself was like that.

In 1963 I became deputy editor. The editor by then was Georgiy Vasilyevich Bedineishvili. He, like the whole core of the staff, was young and wanted to make an interesting and original newspaper. Then a very significant story for that time took place. The newspaper came to the defense of a slandered person who worked at an enterprise. The article said that instead of putting real swindlers on trial, an honest man had been condemned.

Naturally, no one paid attention to that article. Then we wrote again. This time, it was an open letter to the ministry, and we asked for a reply to our article. There was no reply. And then the editor called two experienced people to the newspaper offices and assigned them to write an article about the fact that the minister was shielding swindlers.

All of us on the staff tried to dissuade him, but he decided to print the article anyway. And he himself thought up the headline: "Minister in an Unseemly Role." For those times, that was an unprecedented case. Georgiy Vasilyevich and the minister were called "on the carpet," and we decided that we had lost our editor.

"What kind of disgrace is this," said one high official indignantly, "if you allow some young people's newspaper to criticize a minister, how will you continue to build socialism at all?" Then the indignant minister spoke. There were many speeches pro and con. And at the conclusion of all this, the then first secretary of the party Central Committee reflected and said: "And maybe our minister really is a swindler?"

In general, everything worked out. The editor and the minister each got a reprimand, and they ended up with heart attacks in neighboring wards of the hospital.

That was a very interesting time, and not just because we were young. It's simply that a great deal began to be reassessed, and people began looking for something new. At that time, for example, we went to an eight-page Saturday issue. That made it possible to diversify the newspaper in some ways and make it a little different. We started publishing short stories—Georgian, Russian, foreign—on Saturdays. And very soon we were deluged with a huge flood of translations done on a high professional level and sent to us from all ends of the country. It

is not recorded anywhere in history, but I can say with full assurance that the first Russian translation of Salinger appeared in MOLODEZH GRUZII.

The times taught us to think. And that is the main thing.

[Question] But let us return to the present day. We all know very well how ingloriously the attempts at reforms in the late 1950s and early 1960s ended. And that is probably why the mail received by many newspapers, including IZVESTIYA, contains letters from readers demanding firm guarantees that restructuring is irreversible.

[Answer] There are not and cannot be any such guarantees. We ourselves must provide them collectively. Whether they be legal, economic or other sorts of guarantees. We must and should fight for that. And do not think I am just being overly dramatic when I say that the main guarantee of the irreversibility of reforms is democratization. Glasnost, glasnost and more glasnost. And complete, truthful information. No matter what echelon of authority it touches. We must instill in society a taste for democracy and develop democratic traditions, which, unfortunately, have not yet been established in our country. That is the only true way. And all attempts to regulate glasnost will cast us many years back. No matter where they come from.

Only in that case will restructuring become not just a word but a deed.

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**Armenian CP Journal Alleges 'Voice of Turkey'  
Historical Inaccuracies**

18300188 Yerevan *PO LENINSKOMU PUTI* in  
Russian No 12, Dec 87 pp 62-68

[Article by Ye. Grant: " 'Voice of Turkey'. What Is It About?!" ]

[Text] In the olden days when one spoke of a voice, the reference was to the spellbinding art of song. But in our time this word has also acquired a negative connotation. That is what, for brevity, we call the radio stations created in the Western countries—the misinformers and manipulators of the consciousness which are used in subversive propaganda. They are aimed at the entire world, and primarily at the USSR and the other socialist countries. These "voices" have their own "songs", depending on the peculiarities of the country to which they are broadcasting, but the "composer" is the same—anti-Communism.

In this chorus there is the "Voice of Turkey", which broadcasts to the Soviet Union daily in Russian. Its "repertoire" is rather varied. It contains current events, pages from history, the biographies of Turkish state leaders, and advertisements for tourist trips.

One of the main themes of the "Voice of Turkey" is the history of the Osman Empire, its "reinterpretation" and "new" formulation. And this is not simply nostalgia for the past, but a desire to once again raise the reactionary banner of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism.

The "Voice of Turkey" tells its listeners that peace reigned in the Osman Empire, that all peoples flourished, and if many of them exist and continue their history today, it is thanks to the concern of the Turkish rulers. It reports enthusiastically also the "anniversary" dates of the expansionist campaigns of the Turkish sultans, praises their "wisdom" and "courage", and gives a detailed picture of the subjugation of other countries (in the words of the "Voice of Turkey", they became "Turkish"). All this is also reinforced with legends about the mythical forebear of the Turks, Oguz—a man-like wolf with burning blue eyes who conquered all the countries and created a world empire extending from Asia to the Mediterranean Sea ("The Great Turan")... The "Voice of Turkey" maintains that this was a "real personality", the very "history of the Turkish people".

But what about the constant troubles, uprisings, and national liberation movements of the Arabs, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Georgians, Kurds, Yugoslavs, and other enslaved peoples in the Osman Empire?! The "Voice of Turkey" explains these processes by instigation from external forces, by the action of foreign powers, particularly Russia.

We have no intention of either denying or whitewashing the predatory aspirations of the western countries and czarist Russia. In past history it was the morals of

predators which had the upper hand. And this was true primarily of the Osman empire, where national and social oppression in its harshest forms ruled. "Under the rule of the Turks," Hegel said in his time, "there were no singers... The common interest of the European states in foreign policy was the struggle against the Turks, against this terrible force which threatened to overrun Europe from the East. At that time they were still a completely healthy and powerful nation whose might was based on conquest and which therefore waged constant war and concluded only temporary truces... All the European powers in the East, Austria, Hungary, Venice, and Poland had to fight against the Turks. The Battle of Lepanto saved Italy and maybe all of Europe from being overrun by the barbarians" (Hegel, "Philosophy of History. Collected Works." Vol 8, Moscow-Leningrad, 1935, p 76, 402). Marx and Engels compared the Osman empire to a gloomy prison of nations, a rotting corpse hostile to the cause of progress. "All the efforts of the Turkish government to attain the path of civilization," they wrote, "met with sad ruin" (K. Marx and F. Engels. "Collected Works", Vol 9, p 6).

Having come in the 11-15th Centuries to the Caucuses and the Near East from the regions of Central Asia, the Turkish-speaking barbaric tribes of Seldzhuks tried to impose the morals of the wild nomads upon the peoples with highly developed culture whom they enslaved, and to destroy the achievements of civilization. On the territory of Armenia alone there were tens of thousands of architectural masterpieces destroyed, and in the period of 1821-1913 alone over 2 million people perished as a result of the pogroms and the killings which took place in the regions where the national minorities lived. (Cf.: THE ARMENIAN MIRROR SPECTATOR, July 26, 1986).

The Turkish sultans tried to suppress by fire and by sword the liberation movements of the peoples whom they had enslaved, but without success. The military-feudal empire which had been created by force had to crumble, and crumble it did. Suffering one defeat after another in the course of World War I, the Turkish rulers tried to place most of the blame for this on the Christian population, primarily on the Armenians, calling them all "Russian agents" and "enemies of the empire". There were 1.5 million peaceful inhabitants killed, and all of Western Armenia was turned into a burned-out desert.

Brazenly refuting the known facts, the "Voice of Turkey" announces that there was no genocide, but that there was a war and there were losses on both sides, and that the Turks lost even more people (let us not forget that Turkey was a participant in this war).

All these are the theses of present-day Turkish propaganda. They are presented also by Turkish officials at sessions of the U.N. and international conferences. Various falsifying collections of works are constantly being published in foreign languages.

We will not present the numerous soul-chilling testimonials by witnesses of this heinous crime—the first genocide of the 20th Century, nor the official Turkish documental directives and instructions on the order of extermination of the Armenian population. We will refer merely to the decision of the judicial processes on this matter which were held after World War I. This is particularly appropriate, since in the West today there are those who uphold the Turkish pogrom participants who maintain that not a single judicial institution has confirmed the fact that the Armenian genocide did in fact take place. (The argument is entirely inconsistent. After all, the main thing is the historical fact itself and the heinous crime which was committed). The finding of guilt by the military tribunal in Istanbul (February-July 1919) in the matter of the former rulers of the Osman empire states: "The crimes committed from the moment of displacement of the Armenians to various places and in various periods were not isolated or local acts. They were pre-planned and implemented at the order of the central organ..." (Cf.: "Armenian Genocide in the Osman Empire. Collection of Documents and Materials." Edited by M. G. Nersisyan. Yerevan, 1982, p 559). This resolution also gives the names of the organizers of this crime—the Young Turkish triumvirate represented by Talaat, Enver and Dzhemal, who were sentenced to death.

Here is an excerpt from the testimony given by Mustafa Kemal (Ataturk), the future founder of the Turkish Republic, at this tribunal. "Our countrymen performed unheard-of crimes, resorted to all imaginable methods of despotism, organized deportation and slaughter, poured gasoline over babies and burned them, raped women and young girls in front of their parents whose hands and feet were bound, took girls away from their mothers and fathers, confiscated real and personal property, and herded people who were in a grievous situation to Mesopotamia, inhumanly mocking them along the way... They put thousands of innocent people in boats and drowned them in the sea... They placed the Armenians in such intolerable conditions which no other people had ever before known in history". (Paul de Veou, "Le chute d'Alekandrette", Paris, 1938, p 121-122). In 1926, when the plot organized against him by the Young Turks was exposed, he announced that "he must exterminate and destroy all the members of the Ittihad. It was this party which by its shameful policy exterminated and deported 1 million Christians" (Cf.: Dzh. S. Kirakosyan, "The Young Turks Before the Court of History." Yerevan, 1986, p 272).

The military tribunal at Trapezund (1919) acknowledged that: "The accused Dzhemal Azmi-bei, the vali of Trapezund, issued the directives, while Nail-bei, the man responsible for the Trapezund vilayet of the 'Unification and Progress' committee, acted as his accomplice and agreed with these secret instructions. Inspired by the encouragement expressed by Nail-bei in carrying out his directives, Dzhemal Azmi-bei took the necessary measures for the slaughter and extermination of the Armenians in accordance with these secret instructions"

("Armenian Genocide in the Osman Empire...", p 569). The sentence issued by the military tribunal in the case of the extermination of the Armenian population in Kharberg vilayet (1919-1920) notes that: "Doctor Bekhaedtin Shakir, one of the accused and a member of the 'Unification and Progress' Committee's Central Committee, set out from Dersaadet for the purpose of visiting Trapezund, Erzerum and other vilayets in the capacity of chairman of the Special Organization consisting of the chete (irregular army) and criminals who had been freed from the prisons. Having assumed the leadership of these detachments, he was the author of the tragic acts of collective murders and persecutions performed at various times and in various places since the time of deportation of the Armenians... He acted knowingly and inspired those to whom he gave orders either verbally or through coded correspondence, using the members of this section of the Special Organization for the extermination of the Armenians" (Ibid., p 573). We may refer also to the judicial process in Berlin (1921) in the case of the young Armenian student patriot Sogomon Teyleryan, who had performed an act of revenge, killing one of the organizers of the mass extermination of the Armenian population of Talaat-pashu. The trial turned into an accusatory act against the Turkish pogrom-makers, and the court was forced to acquit Sogomon Teyleryan (Cf.: Ye. V. Tarle, "Europe in the Epoch of Imperialism", Moscow-Leningrad, 1928).

Already after World War II, broad circles of the international community repeatedly spoke out in condemnation of the Armenian genocide performed by the Young Turkish monsters. The 1965 resolution adopted in Helsinki at the World Peace Congress angrily speaks of the extermination of the Armenian population in Osman Turkey. In April of 1984 the session of the Permanent People's Tribunal in Paris (an international public court consisting of representatives of various countries; its members are Sh. McBride (Ireland), laureate of the Nobel and Lenin Peace Prizes; A. Eskivel (Argentina), laureate of the Nobel Peace Prize; G. Wald (USA), laureate of the Nobel Prize; Professor Madzhit Benshikh (Algiers); theologian George Casali (France); Professor Andrian Giardna (Italy) and others) which was devoted to the genocide of the Armenians in Turkey unanimously confirmed the fact of this horrible crime and attributed the responsibility for it not only to the leaders of the Young Turks, but also to the Turkish state, with all the consequences stemming from this. (Cf.: "A Crime of Silence. The Armenian Genocide. The Permanent People's Tribunal". New Jersey, 1985).

Having failed in fooling the world community regarding the Armenian genocide, Istanbul and its propagandist apparatus have recently tried to shake the world with sensational "disclosures". Supposedly the Armenians performed mass killings of the peaceful Turkish population in those years. Thus, the "Voice of Turkey" broadcast a lengthy report stating that in the summer of 1986 in the region of Erzerum sites were excavated which had

served as mass graves of Turks "slaughtered" by the Armenians in 1918. Here the main guilty party was proclaimed to be the people's hero of Armenia, Russian army General Andranik.

The falsification is obvious. At that time there were simply no Armenians there, nor could there be. It was then that the Turkish forces began their intervention in the Transcaucuses and carried over their pogrom policy of genocide aimed at the Armenian population. Andranik and his combat detachment stood up to protect his own people. "I recognize only one nation," said Andranik, "the nation of the oppressed". It is also no accident that after the victory of the October revolution he immediately came over to the side of Soviet Russia and was sympathetic to the Baku commune. Stepan Shaumyan wrote favorably about him, calling him a "people's leader" and a "people's hero".

Also alarming is the fact that in the summer of 1986 a monument was erected on the burial site of the supposed victims of "Armenian terror", and that Turkish President Evren himself was present at its dedication and said: "It is shameful that this was not done sooner..." And in another speech he threatened: "The Armenians believe that this is their territory. Let them try to take it..." (Cf.: THE ARMENIAN MIRROR SPECTATOR, July 26, 1986).

In March of 1987 a special meeting was held to commemorate the 69th anniversary of the death of the supposed victims of "Armenian terror". The message of President Evren to its participants again affirms that "the mass slaughter of the peaceful Turkish population by the Armenians is now a proven fact... It is remarkable that in certain states they still believe the Armenian fabrications".

All this means that the falsification of historical facts, lies, and misinformation in present-day Turkey have been raised to the level of official state policy. It is also no accident that today the executioners and war criminals Talaat, Enver, Dzhemal and others like them are being proclaimed as national heroes. Their memory is being perpetuated and even a mausoleum is being built in their honor. And recently a film series dedicated to Talaat was issued.

It is difficult to imagine such blasphemy in any civilized country. The Turkish ruling circles have evidently not drawn the necessary conclusions from the lessons of history and are by their actions provoking individual Armenian youth groups in the West to resort to terrorist acts in regard to Turkish officials. They do not see their own fault in this, but always look for someone else's hand, clearly hinting, of course, at "the hand of Moscow".

As early as 1948 the U.N. adopted a special Convention on "The Prevention of the Crime of Genocide and the Punishment For It". The Turkish rulers, in taking the

Young Turkish war criminals under their protection, are thereby taking on a grave responsibility. They are throwing out a challenge to the international community and to all the principles of the United Nations Organization, of which Turkey is a member. Forgetting the lessons of the past can be dangerous. The memory of the victims of genocide is at the same time a call to watchfulness.

The pan-Turkic and pan-Islamic policies have taken Turkish ruling circles too far. This is evidenced also by the anti-Bulgarian hysteria which has been unleashed recently by Turkish propaganda, and in which the "Voice of Turkey" is an active participant. What accusations are cast upon socialist Bulgaria! Almost every day the "Voice of Turkey" touches upon the "Bulgarian" topic and concludes, as a rule, with abusive language and threats...

[The "Voice of Turkey"] is betrayed by a sense of elementary objectivity. It intentionally avoids telling the truth about the tragic consequences of the 500-year Osman yoke, when Bulgarians were forcefully Turkicized en masse, and when Islam was imposed upon them. Family names and names of cities and villages were changed. Certain barbaric customs were imposed. Pretty women and girls were taken into harems. Young men were taken away from their parents in accordance with the so-called "blood tax" (devshirma), and after special military training were placed in the janizary forces, which were known for their fierceness and cruelty. As a result, Bulgaria was deprived of no less than 20 percent of its upcoming young generation. "An analysis of the official tax registers," writes Ventsel Raichev, "shows that in the first 100 years of slavery alone, the entire urban and over half of the rural population numbering many millions disappeared in medieval Bulgaria (killed, Turkicized, or sold at eastern markets). This was a true catastrophe for a people who found themselves in a literal demographic collapse" (BULGARIA, 1987, March, p 20).

Unfortunately, the traces of the Osman yoke and the forced assimilation of part of the Bulgarian population are still evident even to this day in a number of regions of the country, and the Bulgarian government is forced to take measures to overcome them. This is what angers and upsets the "Voice of Turkey", which follows the example of other Turkish means of mass information in affirming day in and day out that all Muslim Bulgarians are Turks...

The Bulgarian community has decisively condemned these insinuations. Here is an excerpt from a letter written to the Turkish prime minister by a group of Bulgarians who have reassumed their Bulgarian names. "We express the most energetic protest," the letter states, "in regard to the fact that you, being the prime minister of Turkey, are systematically attempting to intervene in the domestic affairs of our Homeland—the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and in our affairs—the affairs of Bulgarians who have reassumed their family names...

The fact that some of us profess the Muslim religion gives no reason to consider us Turks. By what right do you merge together the religious sentiments and the national sentiments of Bulgarians who profess Islam?"

"You like to pose questions at various international forums, but can you tell us what happened to the thousands of Bulgarians living in Turkey? What is the fate of the Armenians, Greeks, Kurds, Arabs, Assyrians, Albanians and other nationalities in your country? How do they retain their national affiliation in the presence of Article 66 of the Turkish constitution, which states that every citizen of the Turkish republic is a Turk?" (Sofia-press, 1985, p 5-9).

Let us also cite the authoritative opinion of the greatest vizir of the Osman empire, Midhat-pashi. In the French journal "Scientific Overview of France and Foreign Countries", he wrote in 1878: "We must take into account the fact that among the Bulgarians, in which there is such a lively interest, there are over a million Muslims. It is generally assumed that these Muslims came from Asia in order to settle in Bulgaria. In reality, they are the descendants of Bulgarians who turned to the Muslim religion and who accepted Islam during the conquest of the country and later. They are the sons of this country, this people. They belong to it by birthright. There are those among them who speak only Bulgarian. To tear these people away from their homeland, to condemn them to banishment, in my opinion, is a most inhuman act". ("Who Is Concerned About the Muslims in Bulgaria and Why?" Sofia-press, 1985, p 11).

Here is what the Prime Minister of the Syrian Arab Republic, 'Abd al- Ra'uf al-Kasm, recently said in an interview with a correspondent from the Turkish newspaper KHURIYET: "The Muslims in Bulgaria are first of all Bulgarians, just as the Christians in Syria are Syrians". ("Overview", Sofia-press, 1986, p 7).

In connection with this question, we cannot help but recall certain events which occurred during the establishment of Soviet rule in the Transcaucasus in 1918-1921. Having completed the military intervention, the leaders of the Turkish forces tried to redefine the national-ethnic boundaries in the kray according to their own will and in the spirit of pan-Turkism and pan-Islamism. They tried to claim a number of age-old Georgian regions, including the city of Batumi where many "Islamicized" Georgians lived at the time, justifying these actions also with "concern" about the fate of their "blood brothers". However, these brazen expansionist pretensions had to be rebuffed, and units of the Red Army were even forced to begin military operations (for more details on this question cf.: A. B. Kadishev, "Intervention and the Civil War in the Transcaucuses". Moscow, 1960). But what happened to the Georgian regions which turned out to be in Turkey is a generally known fact. They are being Turkicized. In this case the "Voice of Turkey" makes no reminders of the right to national self-determination.

The goal of the anti-Bulgarian campaign is clear. The "Voice of Turkey", as well as the Turkish rulers, want no less and no more than to perpetuate the remaining Turkicized Bulgarians as a specific ethnic group and to hinder their merging with their native nation. After all, this would give provide a reason for intervention in the domestic affairs of Bulgaria, and in time they would be able to make pretensions for the creation of autonomy, and maybe even an "independent" state (following the example of Cyprus). This is what the Turkish pan-Turkists are aiming toward. But the times today are different. Bulgaria is no longer a country which can be trampled and belittled. It is now a part of the mighty socialist alliance and is confidently building the edifice of a new liberated society.

If we judge by official Turkish reports, there is no such national minority as the Kurds in Turkey today, although during the initial formation of the Turkish Republic they were granted the right to self-determination. This fact was reflected also in the letter of Kemal Ataturk to V. I. Lenin dated 26 April 1920, which expressed the readiness to present the right of "Turkish" Armenia, Kurdistan, Lazistan, and regions with a mixed Turkish-Arab population to determine their own fate (Cf.: "USSR Foreign Policy Documents", Vol 2, Moscow, 1958, p 554).

As subsequent events showed, this was a deception for the purpose of obtaining support and aid from the Soviet government in a difficult time for the Turkish people. The ruling circles of the new Turkey also did not keep their promises to fight against the imperialists of the West. On the contrary, they entered into an alliance with them against the Soviet republic, again raised the banner of great-power pan-Turkic chauvinism, pursued a pogrom-type assimilation policy in regard to the national minorities, including the Kurds, and harshly suppressed all actions taken by them in defense of their rights.

While Turkish propaganda today speaks of the Kurdish problem, in its interpretation the "Voice of Turkey" belittles the Kurdish liberation movement in every way possible and reduces it to actions which it terms "dissenting bandit groups". It speaks favorably of the repressive measures employed by the Turkish government against the Kurdish people and the suppression of their rights for self-determination. The "Voice of Turkey" warns that: "Turkey will continue to act in this manner in the future..."

However, one other thing is characteristic. When the "Voice of Turkey" speaks of the Turkish Cypriots, it inevitably stresses their holy right to freedom and to self-determination... That is quite correct. But there is a specific meaning, I would say a subtext, which is included into these principles which are generally accepted in our time and on the basis of which current international relations and the United Nations organization itself are built.

As we know, in 1974 Turkey, capitalizing on the internal events taking place within the Republic of Cyprus and the ever-increasing world contradictions, intervened in this sovereign state and member of the U.N., landing thousands of its troops there in broad daylight. Under the guise of protecting the rights of their "blood brothers", the Turkish interventionists began dividing the island, and as a result created an independent or, more precisely, a puppet state on the basis of the Turkish-Cypriot community, and then in fact turned it into their province. Turkish President Evren openly proclaimed Cyprus to be "an extension of the continental part of Turkey" (Cf.: PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1984, No 12, p 64). Evidently, Turkish Prime Minister Ozal also wanted to stress this fact when he timed his visit to the island in the summer of 1986 to coincide with the date when the Turks invaded Cyprus in the 16th Century.

This is what the right to freedom and self-determination means in the language of the "Voice of Turkey". But this is imperialism, and it has repeatedly been condemned by the decisions of the U.N. Security Council and General Assembly. However, the Turkish aggressors have no consideration for international law, creating a rather dangerous situation in this important region. Moreover, they pose a constant threat also to Greece, laying chauvinist claims to its age-old territories, the Aegean and even the Mediterranean Sea. In one of its broadcasts, the "Voice of Turkey" mentioned the past sea battles when, in its words, "the Mediterranean Sea became Turkish...". And recently in connection with the complication of relations between Greek and Turkey over the use of the marine shelf around a number of the Greek islands, when armed forces on both sides were brought to combat readiness, the "Voice of Turkey" spoke out with threatening announcements and flaunted Turkish supremacy. What could the tiny state of Greece with its population of 10 million have to command Turkey with its 50 million... And when the conflict was settled with the aid of the NATO staff, the "Voice of Turkey" ascribed a geopolitical character to the chauvinistic aspirations of the Turkish ruling circles, claiming that soon the Turkish population will reach 70 million people and will have to be fed... It will need territory and "living space...".

In conclusion we must mention certain peculiarities of the anti-Soviet propaganda issued by the "Voice of Turkey". At first glance, the "Voice of Turkey" avoids primitive anti-Soviet propaganda. But it is enough for the "tide to turn", and it becomes gripped with anti-Soviet hysteria. It has been noted that this happens most often when Turkey conducts routine negotiations with the United States regarding new loans and military aid. The "Voice of Turkey" then takes great pains in expressing its faithfully subservient sentiments, stressing the important role of Turkey as the southern flank of NATO and the need for strengthening it. And here the worn-out myths are put into play about the "Soviet threat" and the "aspirations of the USSR to seize the Bosphorus and Dardanelles...".

It is specifically along this well-developed scenario that the latest negotiations for continuing the American-Turkish agreement on cooperation in the sphere of defense and economics (DECA) to the year 1990 were held. And still there is more. When the Turkish representatives come to the USA and try to reassure their "creditors" regarding the Islamic factor, assuring them of Turkey's adherence to the principles of Lycism, of the secular character of the state, and of the fact that the army will not allow the Islamization of the country, etc. President Evren himself assured us of this at a recent press conference. "I believed in and fought for the principles of Lycism to the end" (Cf.: TASS—SV, 1987, 30 March). In deed, however, the ruling Turkish circles continually strengthen the positions of the Muslim clergy in the country, reinforcing through it their ties with the international Islamic reaction in the struggle against communism and progressive liberation movements. In March of 1987 the 11th annual meeting of the Directors Council of the Islamic Development Bank was held. This organization is comprised of 44 countries—members of the Islamic Conference Organization (the "Voice of Turkey" reported in detail about this). The participants of this meeting presented far-reaching plans for the creation of an "Islamic Common Market", an "Islamic Common Information Center", etc. In other words, they wanted to divide the world according to religious principle, and thereby to complicate the international situation even more and to renew the age-old religious strife. It is specifically this notion which enters into the plans of the organizers and inspirers of the "world Islamic revolution" who threaten nations with the new "Holy War"—the jihad.

The "Voice of Turkey" adds its piece here too. But it, to put it mildly, is not in accord with reality or with the actualities of the current world. It clearly does not want to understand that the nuclear age requires new political thinking, that the time has come to reject the suicidal politics of placing their stake on force which the ruling circles of Turkey are pursuing in alliance with the imperialistic reaction. It is specifically by their fault that the country has been turned into the main NATO bridge-head in the Near East, where numerous American military bases with nuclear weapons are located. The raging of militarism and the burden of military expenditures have exacerbated even more the crisis situation within the economy, with inflation and mass unemployment becoming ever more apparent. In search of a piece of bread, millions of Turks are forced to emigrate to the countries of Western Europe. The order of the military-fascist regime established after the state overthrow in 1980 continues, harsh repressions are constantly inflicted upon the democratic forces, thousands of progressive leaders are being held behind prison walls and subjected to cruel torture. "Today Turkey," note the documents of the 6th Plenum (1986) of the Turkish Communist Party, "is a country of prohibitions. Its citizens cannot openly express their views without fear for their life. Today Turkey is a country where state terrorism flourishes. Its citizens are subjected to arbitrary arrests and become victims of torture, killing and mutilation" (PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, 1987, No 1, p 82).

The "Voice of Turkey" is silent on this point. And we cannot even add the saving "for now"—"for now it is silent". It is not about to speak as the voice of the Turkish people.

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**Press Conference at Moscow Patriarchate Devoted to Millennium Preparations**

*18120071 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 15, 17-24 Apr 88 p 1*

[Article by Valery Smirnov: "Two Months Before the Millennium"]

[Text] A press conference at the Publishing Department of the Moscow Patriarchate looked at the recent conference of bishops of the Russian Orthodox Church that discussed preparations for the Local Council. The Pre-Council was held in the Church of the Assumption in Novodevichy Convent and chaired by Patriarch Pimen of Moscow and All Russia. Attended by more than 70 bishops it approved the programme of the Local Council of the Russian Orthodox Church devoted to the Millennium of the Baptism in Russ. The Council will meet between June 6-9 at the Holy Trinity-St. Sergy Lavra in Zagorsk.

The Pre-Council discussed material on canonization of Russian heroes and church figures: Prince of Moskovy Dmitry Donskoi, icon painter Andrei Rublev and church writer maxim the Grek. The Pre-Council also discussed draft rules on the management of the Russian Orthodox Church and ruled that it be discussed and approved by the Local Council.

The Millennium celebrations will take place all over the country on June 4 through June 16. The main events will be centered in Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad and Vladimir which at different times were the seat of the head of the Church. Celebrations in Moscow's the Danilov Monastery will be held on June 11-12 and attended by nearly 10,000 people. An anniversary concert will be held in the Bolshoi Theatre.

It should be noted that UNESCO has called for marking the millennium of the Russian Orthodox Church a major event in world history.

Answering a question on the prospects of a new legislation regulating relations between the Church and the Soviet state, Archbishop Kiril of Smolensk and Vyazma said: "The new law is being drafted. We have all grounds to expect that this new law to regulate the functioning of religious organizations in the USSR will ensure that the principle of religious liberty is fully realized in our everyday life."

Asked about publications by the Russian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Pitirim of Volokolamsk and Yuryev said that 100,000 copies of an anniversary education of the Bible in Russian are to be published. Also being prepared are 75,000 copies of prayer books in Russian. The new Testament in Ukrainian is being published in Kiev.

Bishop Antoniy of Stavropol and Baku was asked about relations between believers in different faiths in the Caucasus following the events in Nagorny Karabakh. He said:

"Believers in my bishopric are worried over the developments, like people elsewhere in the country. People of more than 90 nationalities live in my bishopric and there are many religions. The events in Nagorny Karabakh, however, did not lead to general religious enmity. Believers showed wisdom and tolerance in their relations with people of different nationalities. The Orthodox churches within the bishopric prayed for a speedy reconciliation between opposing groups."

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**Reasons for Spread of Krishna Sect in Baltic Explored**

*18000222 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Jan 88 p 2*

[Article by Vilnyus SOVETSKAYA LITVA correspondent V. Zarovskiy: "She Left Home and Joined Krishna Sect Due to Boredom and an Unsettled Life"]

[Text] Iolanta readily agreed to meet me after I asked her to do so. We walked in the park and she told me her story . . .

"I was 18 years old when I learned about Krishna. Imagine a girl who had just graduated from high school and has found herself in the world of adults. This world appeared to her to be boring and cynical, while everything about the Krishnas was bright, unusual, and mysterious. In the beginning it was the Indian music that attracted me.

"We gathered together at an apartment or dacha. We were singing prayers and reading religious books. The room was decorated with flower garlands. In the beginning it was fun. And then I suddenly realized that I believe in this God!"

Iolanta left her invalid mother: to love Krishna one must be free of pharmacies, doctors, and other fuss.

. . . In 1972 an International Book Fair took place in Moscow. The founder of the new, at that time only 6 year old religion Krishna Consciousness, Bhaktivedant Svami Prabhupad (his real name is Abhay Sharan Di) was also present at this fair. He disseminated printed matter with such intriguing titles as "Teaching of Self-control", "On the Other Side of Life and Death", and "Perfection of Yoga". There were people willing to obtain them: let us remember that approximately at the same time movie theaters were showing the film "India's Yogi, Who Are They?"

Foreign tourists were illegally bringing Krishna's sect and booklets, thus satisfying the emerging demand. Another "catalyst" was the 1980 trip across our country by the leader of the European region of this sect, Svami Vishnupad, which is an alias of one Robert Compagnola, an Italian of American origin. He visited Moscow, Leningrad, and Riga, where sometimes secretly and sometimes openly, he met people he needed and organized a series of religious groups.

A pond is overgrown with slime when there is no fresh water supply. The economic stagnation of the 70's and 80's also left its mark on morality. All kinds of astrologists, palm readers, and just plain crooks, promising liberation from worldly frenzy. Those were games to brighten up life. Those who lost their faith in everything decided to pursue ghosts. They could not see another way out.

B. Nikiforova, candidate of philosophical sciences, director of the section of the Vilnius branch of the interrepublican Institute of Scientific atheism said: "A person is trying to find in religion something which he is lacking in life. He is searching for something ideal, rejecting the world with its everyday problems which are, one must admit, quite often rather dramatic. There are many reasons for people to turn to Krishna: some are looking for adventure; some do it because of intellectual disharmony, or because of the good life and the desire to be extravagant. There are also those who are unhappy with themselves, unfortunate, unloved, and desperate."

I tried myself to carefully study the Krishna publications. One needs much patience to do it. I found many things both interesting and funny. However, there is no exit from the maze of the "Krishna Consciousness" sect. The ancient Indian philosophy expresses, albeit in a religious form, concepts of universal existence, and one can find in Vedas quite progressive ideas. On the contrary, Krishna sees everywhere only degradation and distorts the concept of human goodness, since the emasculated, absolute goodness has its dialectic opposite, that is, absolute evil. According to this teaching, the evil is the material world including human beings and their necessities. And exactly here, the teaching of the reverend "deputy" represents not so much a philosophical or ethical aspect, as a social one. In giving away their souls to Krishna, his followers turn over to him also their bodies and themselves. They break away from the surrounding world and essentially go underground.

In any case, they were in such a position for several years. Some sects broke the law. Therefore, some time ago, several Krishna followers were sentenced in Moscow and Yerevan. However, these trials were carried out without the necessary openness which caused many rumors in our country and petty intrigues abroad, and the saddest thing, attracted new members by the notion

of a "forbidden fruit". Thus, the number of members in Moscow increased. Similar events took place in Lithuania: after 4 college students were dismissed, the interest in the sect increased.

The deputy procurator of the Vilnius city procurator's office, A. Klimavichyus said: "Contacts among believers of various cities were highly organized. Illegally printed books such as "Bhagavadgita As It Is" and other publications were changing hands. The domestic theologians were supplementing these "masterpieces" with conclusions in which they tried to prove the closeness of Krishna and his teaching to the peoples living in the Baltic. Today, over 70 titles of illegal printed matter are passed from hand to hand among the populace. Many times in different republics militia had arrested Krishna followers carrying out missionary work and disseminating their publications. And there was a demand: some were curious, and others wanted to improve their health. Many people were leaving the sect unable to cope with the load of requirements, and later were sorry for the lost time.

Iolanta was disciplined. She slept only 3-4 hours a day. Her breakfast consisted of a pinch of germinated wheat grains or a glass of milk and honey. For dinner she would have a handful of rice with potatoes and vegetables. She stopped watching TV and reading newspapers. She lost her girlfriends. Some of them tried to talk to her but would be met with a glassy look in her eyes.

There they are sitting on the floor and repeating the Mantras, that is, parts of the "school books". Half-starving and lacking sleep, they soon go into a trance and experience hallucinations. They are "incarnated in Krishna". Such methods are used by Pentecostals, Khlysty, and Scoptsy in Christianity; dervishes in Islam, and Hasidic Jews in Judaism. Medicine recognizes such a condition as a definite symptom of a mental illness.

The tragedies of these people are senseless.

Iolanta's confession comes to an end: "I lived such a life for almost a year. Then, suddenly, I started to wake up during the night in pain. Sometimes, it would squeeze my heart so tightly that I was afraid to breathe. And then I understood: mother... .

However, reader, do not expect a happy ending. Mother had found her daughter only for several months. Iolanta returned but nobody noticed it. She still did not have friends and did not find new goals and support in her life. There was nothing to fill the emptiness in her soul. Recently, I had learned that she again left her home. This time she became a "bride of Christ", that is, a nun without a monastery.

**Kirghiz Obkom Chief on Lax Anti-Religious Stance of Subordinates**

*18300151 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Feb 88 p 4*

[Excerpts from the response by A. Khrestenkov, first secretary of the Issyk-Kul obkom of the Kirghiz CP, entitled: "Duplicity: Time to Tell the Truth". First paragraph is source introduction.]

[Excerpts] On August 12, 1987, SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA published a critical report by V. Khrustalev and V. Stavitskiy "Duplicity". The report discussed instances of unprincipled attitudes of some high-ranking communists toward religion and the relaxation in atheist education in the Issyk-Kul oblast. The editorial board received an official response from the Issyk-Kul obkom of the Kirghiz CP. It is published with minor cuts.

The Issyk-Kul obkom of the Kirghiz CP, after examining the facts described in the article "Duplicity", reports that the article had correctly disclosed the deficiencies and neglect in the work of the party, soviet, and ideological authorities of the Issyk-Kul rayon in the atheist education of the population, in overcoming the influence of Islam and of harmful religious traditions and rites.

The article was reprinted in oblast and rayon newspapers, and discussed at the meetings of the obkom buro, party raykoms, and village meetings. Certain facts described in the article did take place. The funeral of S. Seydimanov was conducted with the inclusion of some religious rites in the presence of a large number of participants, including high-ranking officials, communists, and Komsomol members. Traffic safety for the funeral was provided by militia personnel. The funeral services were also performed at the funeral of the father of K. Muratov, the former director of thoroughbred horse ranch No. 54.

Tolerance and complacency of the party raykom and the Temirovskiy village Soviet of People's deputies toward the ideological split of the former teacher, communist N. Zhakshylykov, who performed religious rites and only after interference of the high authorities was expelled from the CPSU, are confirmed.

In some cases, erection of monuments with Russian Orthodox and Muslim symbols is taking place at the cemeteries.

All this is the result of the insufficient leadership of the Issyk-Kulskiy Party raykom, its buro, and particularly of the first secretary, comrade D.A. Alibayev, over the atheist education of the workers.

The department of agitation and propaganda of the party obkom does not always take an offensive position in overcoming the backward and harmful vestiges of Islam, and attention toward these problems by the obkom secretary, K.M. Orozaliyeva is weakened.

The oblispolkom (comrades Beyshembayev and Ysmanova) and ispolkoms of the local Soviets of people's deputies are conducting extremely unsatisfactory work on the issues of strengthening the material basis of the new Soviet rites and the introduction of paid services, civic rituals, and rites.

The commissioner for religious activities (comrade Ishmukhamedov) and commissions and watch groups overseeing compliance with laws regarding religious cults, very poorly control the activities of unregistered mulahs.

For not taking active measures to prevent religious rites and weakening the atheist education of the workers, the first secretary of the Issyk-Kulskiy Party raykom deserves to be removed from his position. Taking into consideration that he worked in this rayon for only a short period of time, the obkom buro issued him a strong reprimand. The buro ordered the Party gorkoms and raykoms to purposefully carry out atheist education; sharply increase the struggle with the influence of Islam; to raise the responsibility of leaders of the primary Party organizations, soviet authorities, and working collectives, for the state of atheistic work; and to give a principled assessment of the communists, Komsomol members, and leading cadres, who participate in religious rites.

At the same time, a follow-up and discussions with people had shown that the article "Duplicity" had a series of distortions: In particular, the following could not be confirmed: participation in religious rites of the Issyk-Kulskiy party raykom first secretary; participation of the majority of the mentioned Party raykom personnel and managers in the funeral of Seydimanov; presence of a "holy man" by the name of Kozho; and the killing of 8 horses including 3 of those with marks showing that they belong to the ranch, at the funeral of the father of K. Muratov, the former director of the thoroughbred horse ranch No. 54. The performance of the religious custom "mucho" [distribution of money and presents in order to appease the soul of the deceased] could not be confirmed. It was found to be untrue that the funeral of the former chairman of the rayispolkom, M. Osmonov, was a religious one.

There were inaccuracies and errors in describing the state of the present museum of military and working glory in the village Ananyevo and the construction of a new one. It was unfair to say that the oblispolkom and party raykom do not pay attention to its needs. Several Party raykom instructors were said to be friends of the 90-year old deceased, which does not have any truth in it.

All this reduces the quality of the article and its organizing and mobilizing value in the struggle with the religious vestiges.

13355

### **Evangelical-Christian Baptists Score Victory Over Atheists at Roundtable Debate**

*18000312 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 28 Apr 88 p 6*

[Article by E. Matveyeva, SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondent, Khabarovsk: "Baptists Begin and Win"]

[Text] More than 60 years ago the "great schemer" Ostap Bender, reiterating in every possible fashion that "there is no God," was able to score a victory over Roman Catholics who asserted the opposite. Perhaps, they weren't quite educated enough, or it is possible they simply "lost their heads" under pressure from the "knight commander?" At any rate, this well-known fact recorded in Ilf and Petrov's "The Golden Calf" can be set down in the annals of the history of atheism because in the last decade practically no one has been able to accomplish the same feat with such simplicity and ease.

I don't know whether Ostap's debate with the Roman Catholics was remembered by the Khabarovsk central party raykom when it was planning a "round table" discussion with representatives of the Khabarovsk Evangelical-Christian Baptist community. But, one way or another, party workers were convinced simply out of custom that they would handily prevail over their opponents.

But Ostap Bender's times were long gone.

The "round table," whose audience consisted of technical college students, upperclassmen and young workers, went, as a sports commentator would say, to the obvious and complete advantage of the Evangelical-Christian Baptists. Seven of the most well-educated representatives of the religious community, who were extraordinarily well prepared for "educational work, held the attention of the audience assembled in the hall of "Dalenergomash" factory's Dom Kultury the entire evening. Throughout the entire evening religious theories and quotations from the Scriptures were heard with detailed commentary. The believers thoroughly answered questions from the young people.

It's difficult to say with what purpose A. Loparev, head of the propaganda and agitation department of the party raykom and N. Pashkina, teacher of atheism at the pedagogical institute, occupied their places at the "round table." The didn't once get involved in the discussion and essentially didn't utter a word. Only Yu. Bakayev, CP Central Committee raykom lecturer and candidate of historical sciences, who lead the "round table," at least attempted to somehow keep up a defense, from time to time expressing a point of view counter to

religious theories. However, his generally abstract words didn't touch upon urgent problems or pointed questions, and of course, didn't excite anyone. And who could be excited or convinced by empty phrases that are not supported by the realities of life; phrases which have been heard hundreds of times and worn out sayings of this type: religion is the opium of the masses.

The "round table's" organizers were apparently not ready to carry on a polemic with the religious personages nor prepared to expose the groundlessness of religious tenets; their store of atheistic knowledge does not encompass the skill to conduct anti-religious propaganda. This being the case, what were they expecting? Did they realize what they were doing, why they were appearing at a public debate with believers who were skilled propagandists of their views and ideas? In all probability the answer is no. Similarly, Yu. Bakayev did not think through his actions when he advised the young people who were attending to the "substantative" discussion carried on by the opponents, to go directly to the meeting house of the local Evangelical-Christian Baptist community for a more detailed explanation of questions that interested them. Incidentally, even the believers themselves hadn't counted on such an invitation—an invitation that had the appearance of being an advertisement.

In a word, this "round table" discussion was more appropriately a benefit performance for the religious community. It was an example of how easy it is to discredit a good idea with unskilled actions.

### **Plans for Millennium Prayer Services Noted**

*18120073 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 17, 1-8 May 88, p 14*

[Article by Archpriest Anatoly Zatovsky, overseer of the Makarievsky Church in Kiev: "We Shall Pray for Peace"]

[Excerpts] The Russian Orthodox Church is soon to mark its millennium. Academician Dmitry Likhachev recently wrote quite rightly: "I think that the history of Russian culture starts with the Baptism of Russ."

With bated breath believers in Kiev await the beginning of anniversary celebrations. Vespers will start in Kiev churches and monasteries on the evening of June 14. There will be Divine Liturgy and processions, with cross and banners, around the St. Vladimir Cathedral on June 15. Thousands of Kievans and guests will assemble on St. Vladimir Hill on June 16 for a Te Deum (public prayer) near the monument to Prince St. Vladimir - the baptist of Russ.

Parishioners of the Makarievsky Church in Kiev, where I had the honour of being an overseer, are also looking forward to the anniversary celebrations. Thousands of parishioners from this church will gather on June 15 for a Divine Liturgy to celebrate the great holiday.

**Officials Censured for Obstructing Registration of Religious Communities**

18120074 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 17, 1-8 May 88 p 13

[Article by Alexander Nezhny: "Law or Opinion"]

[Excerpts] MN still receives letters about the article "Law and Conscience" published by MN as far back as August 16 last year. One of the more recent letters came from Brest and was signed by nearly three thousand people.

Just to remind you, the article was about the Orthodox believers of Kirov, who attempted to register their community in the city. Their demand was in full accordance with the law, but the authorities of the city and region kept on declining it, and gave in only with publication of the above article. Another new Orthodox community in Vyatskiye Polyany, Kirov Region, was registered only after numerous attempts by the believers to exercise their right.

There are still some things causing concern—the occasional reminder of past times (never to return, I hope) when there were two democracies and two moralities, one for the authorities and one for the ordinary people. The article named the people directly responsible for the infringement of the law. They are, among others: the Kirov Region Commissioner of the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR A. Shalaginov, Secretary of the Kirov City Soviet Executive Committee V. Charushina, the Procurator of the City of Kirov P. Ozhegin. The Kirov authorities do not seem to understand that the law, as well as responsibility for its infringement and the Leninist norms of life in society, currently being restored, apply to everybody. True, the Procurator of the Russian Federation did point out to P. Ozhegin that he "had failed to take the necessary measures to ensure strict observance of the law when the complaints by founding members of the new religious community of the Russian Orthodox Church were being considered." That was a weighty response from Moscow. What about Kirov?

Of course, the Kirov authorities didn't try to pretend that there had been no article. Deputy Chairman of the Kirov Region Soviet Executive Committee Yu. Derevskoi sent a letter to MN in reply to the publication. It maintained that the Kirov Region Soviet Executive Committee had backed the "demand of believers in Kirov and Vyatskiye Polyany" and reconsidered certain "aspects of work with believers, priests and church activists, under the conditions of the democratization of society." What was the reason for these well-polished phrases? We know how the Kirov Region Soviet Executive Committee backed the lawful demands of believers. As for reconsideration of "aspects of the work," this unfortunately was mostly only verbal. The local authorities delayed giving their decision concerning handing

over the Trinity Church to the believers until the founding members of the already registered second Orthodox community of Kirov filed a complaint with the Kirov Region Procurator. They rightfully pointed out the infringements of the law according to which the community should have been given a prayer house, albeit a temporary one, within two months.

No one should be under the illusion that one fine morning everyone will wake up democratically-minded. The notion that people are like children who do not know what they really want has long been with us and will not vanish overnight. A democratic society must do everything to change this.

The opinion of officials can override the provisions of the law, concerning the rights of believers, in places other than Kirov.

I mentioned a letter from Brest signed by 2,873 people. Isn't it our duty to look into the matter and, if it doesn't run counter to the existing law, to meet demands? The more so that this request, this wish (and people should make it a demand, for that matter) has been expressed on a number of occasions, and not just over one year.

Here's what it's all about: Orthodox believers residing in Brest ask to have their second community registered. Their wish contains nothing that contradicts the laws, but the local city and regional authorities are apparently inclined to give more weight to their own opinion than to the norms of the law, obliging for all nationals of the country. The city had two operating churches until 1961, when one - St. Nicholas Church - was closed, leaving the whole city of Brest and its environs with just one other - a small Simeon Church. The situation is very much like that in Kirov: a church building converted into state archives a quarter of a century ago has fallen into ruin. Almost three years ago now, scaffolds were erected for repair work, but so far no repairs have been done, only ruining instead.

It has been pointed out on many occasions that we must learn to live under democracy. It's impermissible to offend people by giving them formal replies which try to pass something bad off for good, which repeat how important individual opinion is. It is only complete disregard of people's ability to think critically and of the moral and official duty to speak the truth, which allows people to say in reply to the believers' requests that "the church was removed from the register following application from believers," and to sign with clean conscience: "L. Pirogovskaya, Deputy Chairman of the Brest City Soviet Executive Committee."

This is a question not of defending religion or of supporting religious views, but of the observance of the lawful rights of believers in the country, of the need for tactful and respectful treatment of their feelings and of things they hold sacred. This comment does not testify to the rise of religiousness in the country. People simply

feel that they can be heard nowadays. The system of mostly administrative rule doesn't demand deep knowledge or any sympathy for the people's needs from officials. It doesn't require a scientific and intellectually high level of work. It depends solely on the force of prohibition, which can overcome anything.

Here's a letter from Lomonosov, Leningrad Region. Orthodox believers have been trying to have their religious community registered for eight years now and to be given permission to use one of two available churches - Trinity Church or Archangel Michael Church - given to them. The Archangel Michael Church was built in 1913 using money donated by believers. The building is falling into decay. Orthodox believers from Druzhkovka, Donetsk Region, have entered their fourth year of struggle for registration of their commune and church. The Orthodox believers of Chernigov, where three of the four operating churches were closed in the early 1960's, and where only the Resurrection Church, the smallest one, remains for the worshippers, are trying to have another community registered and to get another church for it.

At first I was unable to find a suitable explanation for the motives behind the behaviour of certain local bodies of power, or, to be precise, of certain officials. How can they forbid, oppress and have no scruples about transgressing the law when dealing with people different from others only in that they believe in God? You don't stop believing in God just because you've received some order. The official leaders of the cities, towns and regions which I have mentioned here (and there are more) must surely understand this. As Marxists, they must know that, according to Marx, the privilege of faith is a universal right of man. Why do they persist in their obstinacy? Is it because they can't tolerate the "delusions" of the human mind? Teach people the truth then, but never restrict them.

The church was separated from the state 70 years ago, and since then has always had to ask the state's permission to form a community or another house of worship. Is this a good thing? Generally speaking, friction is perhaps unavoidable here because working in the church and state organs are humans, with characteristically human flaws. Peace and quiet can only be dreamed of, but what is necessary in each particular case is respect for the law. This would solve many problems tormenting society at the moment. However, people are tempted to show the believers that this respect doesn't seem to exist. The opinions of high-placed officials outweigh the law.

I'm convinced that examples from the recent past play an important role here. We condemned outright the violations of law committed in the 1930's, but made no real mention of the fact that many Russian Orthodox Church figures who were completely loyal to Soviet power, became victims of those violations. Suffice it to mention the names of outstanding scholar of encyclopaedic learning priest Pavel Florensky, Archbishop Andrei

Ukhtomsky, Metropolitan Konstantin Dyakov and Metropolitan Serafim Alexandrov. We have not yet properly realized the moral consequences of the horrific wave which washed away hundreds of big and small churches. And we have not yet fully realized that the present unduly liberal interpretation of the law is deeply rooted in the lawless practices of the past. An old official from the Council for Religious Affairs of a certain Russian city once reminisced, with melancholic pride, about the 1960s, when he ordered Orthodox churches to be closed, allegedly at the request of the believers. As is known, their number has dwindled by nearly half since 1961.

All this is most probably imprinted on the minds of those who now try to prevent the believers from exercising their legal rights. A mind-boggling reluctance to regard a believer as a person with full rights has formed and makes itself felt every now and then. I received a letter from Naberezhnye Chelny where an Orthodox community has been trying for years to regain the St. Dimitry of Thessaloniki Church, now ruined.

Here's another letter. It came from Chudov, Novgorod Region, and was signed by 750 people. They wrote that a town church had been taken away from the believers in 1962, and that, in its place, they had been given a log cabin of a chapel in a suburb. The church has been standing vacant since then. People wrote to me from Michurinsk where they were allowed to use only a small church. Elias Church, an architectural monument built by Rastrelli, was just about raised from the ruins through the efforts, and with the donations of local Orthodox believers. It was taken away from the community in 1964 and handed over to a local museum. Now, it is in a very sad state, as the local press had already pointed out. The believers are asking for their second community to be registered and for Elias Church to be given to them. They are even ready to undertake major repairs of another 19th-century architectural monument - Golitsyn House - in order for the museum to be relocated there. As an option, they have said they would accept Bogolyubsky Church instead, which is vacant and which needs to be thoroughly reconstructed. The people's requirements are quite lawful and reasonable. Their arguments are sensible. However, the answer, as you may have guessed, is 0.

I read letters from Gorki, Rovno, Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Novgorod, Kiev and other places and saw that everything they said was true.

What's to be done? Should such cases be published? Should those who broke the law be punished? By all means, but solving one case will inevitably bring us to another, and yet another, and so on. I think a special commission should be set up, perhaps even under the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, with members of the public, deputies, officials from the Council for Religious Affairs attached to the Council of Ministers of the USSR,

as well as church people and ordinary believers. Let the commission sort out the complaints from the country's believers and put some democratic order into the whole affair.

P.S. The Kirov Region Soviet Executive Committee maintains that the author of the article "Law and Conscience" "made a few serious distortions," and "assessed the work of a number of government officials in an inadmissible form."

It has never dawned upon certain government officials, I think, that such cases could be presented for open discussion, or that their work could be severely criticized. So, understandably, their pride is hurt, and this inevitably leads people to admit their mistakes.

#### Television Broadcast Counters Catholic Pretenses to the Millennium

18110059 [Editorial Report] Kiev RADYANSKA UKRAYINA in Ukrainian on 18 March 1988 carries on page 4 in its television program listings a 100-word description of the subject matter of the program "Atheistic Dialogues" carried by the republic's television channel. A 26 March afternoon program was devoted to an examination of the "vociferous campaign organized on the eve of Millennium celebrations by foreign clerical propaganda organs" to disseminate the idea that the Christianity accepted by Kievan Rus was in Catholic form. The article explains that the Christianity Prince Vladimir accepted from Byzantium in 988-989 did, in fact, take on a specific Russian Orthodox character. But, this fact is not accepted universally in that "the so-called Ukrainian Catholic Church, which condoned the bloody deeds of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalist's gangs, contrary to historical logic, insists that Kievan Rus' Christianity was Catholic right from the start."

#### Intellectuals' Turn Toward Religion Found Disturbing

18000307 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 Mar 88 p 7

[Article by E. Batalova, Znaniye Society lecturer: "The Battle With Atheists"]

[Text] Lately, more and more often I have the feeling that religion is challenging me to a fight and I am not able to deal with it because the blows are coming at me from the most unexpected directions. In the past, everything was clear: it's best not to talk to an elderly, poorly educated woman dressed in dark colors about God, because you might offend her religious feelings. But a person with a university degree is your fellow-atheist; you can candidly express your feelings about the church to him.

This system is, of course, rather unsophisticated, but it has never led me astray. But now I am constantly making a fool of myself. The poorly educated woman announces that when she was still a child she read the pamphlet "Does God Exist?" and this was sufficient to convince her that He does not exist and that religion is opium for the masses. As for the people with higher educations....

For his first independent work a graduate of a theater institute decided to stage Leonid Andreyev's story "Judas Iscariot" with the help of student actors. I imparted my concerns to him. Isn't it risky to resort to Jesus in order to examine the issues of loyalty and betrayal, and all the more so since religiosity is still strong here? And the theater-goers responded! It turns out that the religious content of a play is capable of shocking only the most unsophisticated people, but the dramatist's intent is to address "the intelligent spectator" who understands that the "history of Christ is a phenomenon common to the culture of all mankind—culture's indisputable property." This is what the response was to my uneasiness: "It's the Proletkult of our times."

But they did not convince me. My anxiety remains. In any educated house these days there is a bible on the shelf and a church calendar on the wall. The artist wears a huge cross around his neck. Yet the people I have mentioned are not believers; and this is the essence of the matter. So why are they joining forces against atheists?

**Kozhinov Defends Kunyayev Against Yevtushenko's Attack**  
*18000185 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 20 Jan 88 p 4*

[Article by Vadim Kozhinov: "Reciprocal 'Feeling of Indignant Bewilderment'"]

[Text] Ye. Yevtushenko decided that it is necessary to inform the readers of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA (No 2, 1988) that the award of the RSFSR State Prize to Stanislav Kunyayev for his Book "Flame Flickering in Vessel" had aroused in him a "feeling of indignant bewilderment" and that he "objects to the decision".

Yevtushenko expresses extreme indignation, first of all, at the pages dedicated to Vladimir Vysotskiy. And, naturally, a reciprocal "feeling of indignant bewilderment" occurs, since the author of the letter to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA, in essence, had not totally evaluated the book which he characterizes as not deserving of the prize. Indeed, the discussion concerning Vysotskiy takes place on some 20 of the 300 pages in the book. Thus, it seems, Yevtushenko could not find reasons for criticizing the "remaining" 280 pages, since in order to widen the framework of his "act of accusation" beyond the "problem of Vysotskiy" he had to put aside the book and to take "to task" a magazine article by Kunyayev "For the Sake of Life on Earth".

I must immediately say that I am in no way sharing all aspects of Kunyayev's position with regard to Vysotskiy. First of all, some of his songs, such as "Penal Battalions" and "Fastidious Stallions", I value very highly. On the other hand, in my opinion, Kunyayev had tied too strongly together Vysotskiy himself and his fans.

In particular, we are talking of those, who in their frenzy trampled on the grave next to Vysotskiy's. Yevtushenko with extreme anger writes that this grave was actually a fake one, and therefore, describing it in one of his articles (and not in the book according to Yevtushenko, who did not bother to carefully read the pages of the book which he subjected to sharp criticism), Kunyayev by this action somehow "spits" on the grave of Vysotskiy. Pure demagogic! Because in this particular case it does not matter whether it was a real or a fake grave, since not only Kunyayev, but also those who in an unruly manner trampled this place could not know that the grave under their feet is fake. And, I repeat again, Kunyayev should not make Vysotskiy to be so close with his "fans".

However, I do not see anything deserving "indignation" in the fact that Kunyayev expressed his resentment of the general trend of many of Vysotskiy's songs by saying, for example, that "these songs did not fight the decay, but just the opposite, they aesthetically framed it." (These words are qualified by Yevtushenko as a "direct insult"). Yevtushenko loves to talk about democracy. Why then is he so intolerant to a different opinion? . . .

However, Yevtushenko, as he and his critics state it many times, is a "different" and "multifaced" man. Vysotskiy's fans, having read Yevtushenko's letter to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA will joyfully see him as one of them, and will be grossly mistaken. Several months before this letter, he already wrote about Vysotskiy on pages of the almanac "Modern Drama". After stating that Vysotskiy was a "talented man", Yevtushenko immediately states that one must find his "real face" through the "deposits of hysterics, lamentations, which were sometimes hypocritically hysterical and sometimes honestly foolish". And more: "Vladimir Vysotskiy, in my opinion, was neither a great poet, nor a great singer, or, even more, composer". However, Kunyayev's efforts are directed precisely against proclaiming Vysotskiy to be "great" and a "genius".

Kunyayev in his book argues with what can be called Vysotskiy's "program" (and the right for such an argument is the elementary condition of democracy in literature), but he does not use such words as "hysterics", "hypocrisy", and "foolishness" which are indeed insulting. Kunyayev writes about Vysotskiy's "musical and artistic charm", about his obvious talent, and concludes: "Impassive time will show to what extent this outstanding talent was working for his day and for "Eternity", that is, he does not try to present his opinion as an absolute truth.

Thus, Yevtushenko simply misleads those who did not read Kunyayev's book by stating that he supposedly "insults", "defames", "spits on", etc., Vysotskiy. The matter is that the goal of Yevtushenko is not the defense of Vysotskiy (whom, as we already have seen, himself does not hold in high esteem) but an attack on Kunyayev. Almost a quarter of his text Yevtushenko dedicated to "exposing" Kunyayev's "envy" which supposedly determines all his critical statements: Kunyayev "physically cannot tolerate" somebody else's popularity. We must state that by turning toward the "envy" theme, Yevtushenko stepped on a very dangerous path for himself. Vysotskiy's widow, who in her memoirs chose a direct form of speech addressing her late husband, said: "Official poets Yevtushenko and Voznesenskiy smiled favorably when you were bringing your poems. But, nobody ever kept his word. . . promising to help in their publication. . ." I do not want to become "equal" with Yevtushenko in methods of polemics; I just want to say that using his "method" it is easy to accuse Yevtushenko himself in unwillingness in due time to help a very strong "competitor" . . .

However, let us go further. What else does Yevtushenko not like in Kunyayev's book? Kunyayev supposedly "offhandedly attaches a political tag" on Voznesenskiy. However, this is a rude misrepresentation. The book argues with the critic S. Chuprinin, who accused Kunyayev of trying to "glorify" any power regardless of whose interest it serves or what political ideals it follows". In response, Kunyayev shows that in the same article Chuprinin glorifies Voznesenskiy's poems about the USSR

and the USA, which obviously "lack a socio-historical approach toward class criteria, on which our critic, who requires this approach from other poets, for some reasons closes his eyes". Thus we are taking about a "double count" in Chuprinin's position rather than about "attaching a tag" on Voznesenskiy; Kunyayev only insists that the critic, if he requires a strict "political" determination from Kunyayev, he should not release Voznesenskiy from this requirement, that is, if you wish, he must behave "democratically".

Kunyayev's statements concerning the art of M. Chagall that in his opinion it is too "decorative", "rationalistic", and "literary" had caused Yevtushenko's extreme indignation. And here we must again mention the strange for our days antidemocratic intolerance toward the opinion of others. For example, last year in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA there was published an even sharper characteristic of an artist in whom many see the "genius of the century": "Beauty is a symbol of truth... Strictly speaking, Picasso has nothing to do with the truth... Picasso instead of glorifying beauty... was acting as its destroyer, detractor, and eliminator". If one follows Yevtushenko's principles, these words (they belong to Andrey Tarkovskiy) should be defined as "insult", "defamation", "spitting on", etc. In addition, one had to declare them an expression of "envy" toward the famous man.

Those are all Yevtushenko's claims to Kunyayev's book. Further on, he takes to task his article. After attributing to Kunyayev (again out of context) the line of poet A. Prasolov ("Forget about Svetlov with Bagritskiy"), Yevtushenko tries to persuade the readers that Kunyayev "is rejoicing" and "is making fun of" the poets of the prewar generation. But this is an even more outrageous overstatement. Kunyayev writes about these poets: "a group of highly talented poetical youth", "romantic intrepidity", "ready for a sacrifice", "absolute honesty of generation", etc. At the same time he proves, and quite convincingly, that our time is characterized by a different, as compared to those poets, attitude toward problems of war and revolution. Is it criminal? Why cannot Kunyayev challenge, simultaneously with his clearly stated respect toward prewar generation, the romantic pathos of its poetry?

Let us return once more to the book of the critic S. Chuprinin who, as we saw it already, does not share Kunyayev's views. After describing his understanding of Kunyayev's world outlook, he concludes: "Such is the position and persuasion of the poet. One may disagree with them, may argue (and often it is necessary) with them. But one is to see in them, first, exactly a position and a conviction. And one is to understand that the poet Stanislav Kunyayev will answer for them with his own destiny and honor".

But Yevtushenko does not argue: as we see, he has different goals. The letter he sent to LITERATURNAYA GAZETA is designed, essentially, not by the desire to disprove Kunyayev's position, but rather by a desire to

deprive him of public recognition. It is clear that if Yevtushenko would have such power, he would take away the prize awarded to Kunyayev. Not long ago, critic V. Zhigunov in discussing on the pages of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA "weak" and "stereotyped" works, which had received the USSR State prize during the period of stagnation, mentioned among them Yevtushenko's poem, "Mama and the Neutron Bomb", as one he "with all his zeal could not finish reading". However, it never came to Zhigunov's mind to raise the question as Yevtushenko does it: "I object to the decision".

And in conclusion I still want to say that the publication of Yevtushenko's letter played a positive role, since many people will understand now how deceptive are the cries for democracy, which we hear now from not only Yevtushenko, but from other authors as well.

#### From the Editorial Board

After the letter from Ye. Yevtushenko was published, the editorial board received many responses both from those who support the letter author's position and from those who disagree with it.

After presenting both points of view ("for" and "against"), we consider further continuation of the polemics to be without merit.

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#### Theater Workers Differ on Need For Reexamination of History

18000313 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian on 16 April 1988 carries on page 9 a 900-word report by S. Belov on the All-Soviet Conference of Playwrights and Theater Workers entitled "The New Thinking: Drama and Life." The participants joined in addressing a letter to the CPSU CC in which they expressed "complete agreement" with the position PRAVDA took in its article [of 5 April] entitled "Principles of Restructuring: Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Acting." The participants then discussed the speech delivered by A. Gelman at the party meeting of the Filmmakers Union which had been published in SOVETSKAYA KULTURA. Critic A. Maksimova expressed support for Gelman's positions as outlined in the speech. Questions concerning the treatment of history were of "primary interest" at the conference, but "not all the participants agreed in their assessments of specific historic episodes." For instance, the critic V. Bondarenko "expressed his opinion about the alleged bias of artists in their assessments of the past, and that in his opinion they are trying to substitute one compulsory model of social consciousness with another, just as compulsory; and in general, he says, is it worth talking so much about the past when there are subjects which are more current and topical?" Playwright A. Abullin called for "more objectivity, a kind of 'presumption of innocence' in approaching the assessment of historical

figures." M. Shatrov "ardently defended the right of an author to openly and directly speak about history. He stressed that to demand plays about the present, on topics of the day, and in doing so turn away from the past, is inadmissible since much of what is happening today was determined by the past."

### **Readers Express Views on Use of Belorussian Language**

18000308 [Editorial Report] Minsk SOVETSKAYA BEGORUSSIYA in Russian on 18 March 1988 carries

on page 4 a 100-word article citing lines from readers' letters to the newspaper's editorial office. Two entries in this article touch upon the language issue. V. Dudarov writes: "Finally the Belorussian language is being used for announcements in the Minsk Metro. But what about the other public transportation systems?"

Giving a contrasting point of view, S. Labeyko states that it must not be assumed that "the knowledge of one's native language automatically transforms a person into a genuine patriot. The one must not be substituted for the other, with language held up as the ideal."

**Stalinist Repression, 'Elitism' Blamed for Current Nationality Problems**  
18300163 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 11 Feb 88 p 3

[Excerpts from article by Yamil Mustafin: "We Need Each Other"]

[Excerpts] The time of revival of democracy, glasnost, and restoration of law requires from everyone a responsible, uncompromising analysis of the tragic facts as a symptom of a sickening phenomenon. There are many causes for that and they are different.

If we even briefly try to analyze the history of the development of friendship among the peoples of our Fatherland from the positions of the humane decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, we will clearly see periods and stages of ambiguous and not always consistent resolutions of problems of internationalism.

The first blow to the ideas of internationalism in our country was made by Stalin's repressions. The flower and pride of the peoples, the most honest party members, statesmen, people who organized the Soviet system, scientists, writers, and artists were subjected to reprisals and liquidated. This action caused for many years an irreplaceable loss for the Soviet multinational culture and conceived in the souls of the peoples suspicion, doubt, mistrust. . . The places of highly educated, real internationalists were occupied by a large number of impostors, and simply illiterate and indecent people. Remorselessly, they rejected all norms common to all mankind, distorted the social and moral foundations of socialism, accused others of "nationalism", and tried to accelerate the unification of national cultures. This most fundamental stage of society's development has not become a subject of philosophical and artistic interpretation yet.

An impression is created that the years 1937-39 had touched only economics, science, and the military. However the demagogic slogans and calls were covering and replacing, first of all, real life. In spite of the successful creation of a myth about the leader's genius representing the entire Party, worries and anxiety for the unity and friendship of the multinational family of peoples in the Country of Soviets were being aroused in the depth of the peoples' masses. The notion "international" now meant to loudly declare one's love and personal devotion to the: Father of the Peoples".

Soviet People are great not only by their national consciousness and dignity, but are also infinitely generous and possess a huge potential for patriotic feelings. The unexpected Great Patriotic War had turned over the complete structure of life in the country and threatened the entire existence of the Soviet State. And during the years of hard testing the international friendship of peoples and patriotism gained the upper hand over the humiliated human dignity and feelings. The historic

victory over Fascism confirmed the stability of the friendship inside the multinational family of the USSR peoples thus proving the aspiration of the Soviet peoples toward brotherhood.

Why and at what stage during peacetime did the nationalistic relapses take place after the triumph of the peoples-victors, peoples-internationalists? And again we must ascertain that the repressions of 1948-1949 took their toll. Again the seeds of discord, distrust, and doubts were sown among the peoples. . .

The events in Alma-Ata, the actions of nationalistic groups in the Baltics, and the extremist trend of "Pamyat". . . To explain these "turbulences" by irresponsibility and evil will of some people would be too simplistic and dangerous. As a result, a self-deception is taking place, that is, the notorious blindness about which the Party is warning people.

The original cause of many negative phenomena weakening the international friendship of peoples and nations of the USSR is in the development of the social inequality. During the last 30-40 years society was inadvertently breaking down into the "working mass" and the "elite" of bureaucrats, which was propagating in accordance with the hierarchic principle. The imperfection of existing laws and fetishism of ranks and positions helped this process.

One of the features of the social and moral behavior of the bureaucratic "elite" was the divergence between the word and action: proclaiming with fervor holy notions, such as equality, brotherhood, and democracy designed for so-called "simple", "ordinary", and "usual" people. They, that is, "peoples' servants", in turn by the way of their life (carefully hidden from the people's eyes) rejected and profaned these notions. They saw distrust, uncertainty, suspicion, and discord among people; as a result of this, those live, very important, and necessary for a human being gentle ties among representatives of different nations were erased and disappeared. They developed their own language, which was political jargon designed to depersonalize the peoples' speech. . . This jargon can be heard from podiums, on the radio, and be seen in articles and publications consisting of many volumes. . .

Naturally, the peoples' language (language of the people) which preserves live, image-bearing notions, became an obstacle for such "leaders". As to the peoples, they felt it and simply could not understand their "servants" anymore, especially, that the number of schools teaching in the native language as well as books and magazines was being reduced. . . A latent internal conflict between the "fathers" and "children" was also taking place: the latter quite often simply could not (and cannot!) either read nor write and speak their native language.

This alarming symptom is confirmed by numerous speeches of leading writers of the autonomous republics, oblasts, and national okrugs, during plenums and congresses. As to the concern, pain, and alarm of writers of the autonomous republics, oblasts, and national okrugs, with regard to the lack of young writers, are understandable and explainable, and were expressed in a bitter joke: "The first and the last classic."

V.I.Lenin in due time sharply condemned the distortion of the national policy in Transcaucasus by Stalin. The unambiguously called people carrying out such policies "derzhimorda" and "nationalists." Have such "derzhimordas" disappeared in our day? Unfortunately, not. They simply took on another appearance.

I remember the fall of 1957. . . Days of Tatar literature and art in Moscow. From the podium of the Column Hall the speaker used the correct words about internationalism and thanked the Great October Revolution and the Soviet government for giving the Tatar people their written language. And here an unhappy hum could be heard in the Hall. Later I learned the reason for the discontent. It turned out that Tatar literature has an almost 1000 year-long history, but by somebody's order it was added to the list of literature in a recently developed written language.

Here is a very recent example. I have maintained a friendship with Udmurt writers, metallurgists, and artists for more than a quarter of a century. Many times I heard during large or small literary celebrations both in Izhevsk and Moscow how writers, party, and Soviet workers thanked the October revolution and the great Russian people for giving a written language to the Udmurts. I, as many others, accepted it as a historical fact. . . However, only several years ago, an Udmurt language grammar was published in the USA to commemorate the 200th anniversary of its creation.

There goes a young written language literature! Now, let us discuss another issue. Recently, one well known writer warned us from the podium of the Moscow writers' plenum of a coming danger. The speaker discussed the danger of the disappearance of the Russian nation, which, in his opinion, will be swallowed by the Central Asian nations: Uzbek, Kazakh, Kirghiz, Tajik. . . This writer, internationalist in his soul and by his convictions, lost, it seems, the feeling of reality and for a moment found himself overtaken by group emotions.

The situation is indeed alarming: Why and at what stage did the birth rate of Russians sharply decrease? For me, a Baskir, it causes sorrow to hear such sad and alarming facts.

There is no doubt that it is a most serious problem, and it must disturb the heart of every person. But it is ridiculous and dishonest to blame other nations united under the same State Emblem for the society's social problems. This is how alienation among nations is being

blown up, which is not registered by anyone anywhere (no institute does it), is not fixed, taken into account, and, even more is not analyzed.

Restoration of glasnost puts before us the task of the comprehensive study of the national problem in its historic development and its live embodiment in the real, diverse, and multifaceted reality. And the new thinking is impossible if one uses the "old", dead language. Thus, it is necessary to bring back real substance to such moral and humanitarian notions as "honesty", "nobility", and "compassion", the nature of which is the same for all nations.

More than 40 years have passed since the national rights of Kalmyks, Crimean Tatars, Chechen, Ingush, and Balkars were trampled on, and they were deported from their native lands. . . It is a pain not only of the unfairly victimized nations, it is also the common pain of every honest Soviet citizen. The wound inflicted on the international friendship of peoples, which was nurtured by V.I. Lenin, will remind us all for a long time of the years of lawlessness, humiliation of human dignity, and absurd accusations. This is the fault not only of those who violated the constitutional rights of entire nations, but also of those, who were quiet and blindly believed the slander, and tried to stay aside, hoping that the disaster would bypass his own nation. However, historic facts confirm that silence, blind obedience, and permission to trample on the principles common to all mankind has always turned out to be a tragedy.

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**KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Exposes Abuses in Corrective Labor Camps**  
18000275 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 88 p 4

[Article by A. Ganelin, Komsprav staff correspondent in Tajik SSR: "Citizens and Comrades"]

[Text] *In the past the only thing we would write about corrective labor institutions is how thoroughly they corrected the convicts. And at the very same time many people were convinced of the fact that the labor colonies only corrupted people. Thus, what in fact does go on there?*

On 6 November citizen Gennadiy Belonozhnikov became Comrade Belonozhnikov. On that date he was released on amnesty.

"In 'that' life I was a 'muzhik,'" said Gena when we met on the outside.

There, behind the barbed wire of a strict regime labor colony, he had six years left to do in "that" life, where the convicts ask one another: "Who are you in life?" to clear up what sort of position you occupy where the "obshchak" [criminal society] surreptitiously rules the convicts; where one traditionally defers to the thieves;

where they have their own conceptions of honor and their own laws, according to which one may not even sign up with the volunteer organizations of the ITU [Corrective Labor Institution]. Many who have landed in the colony even for the first time, and especially the young ones, are subjected to a work-over by the convicts, who subscribe to the laws of the criminal world. They speak eloquently of the justice and the nobility of the thieves' concept of the "obshchak," and of the fact that the strong should not take advantage of the weak. But in actuality? Officials at one of the colonies described how "We decided to transport the thief who had started the criminal traditions in the ITU. We were escorting him to the truck, and the convicts were standing around outside hoping to give him some of their food, for to them he was a martyr suffering for his ideals. And he says to us, 'Hey, citizen-bosses, why don't you let me stay here another month or two? Oh, the money I could get from these little fools...'"

The labor colony administration is trying to break up the "obshchak." It is trying to crush the criminal traditions, and tries to convince the convicts to sign up with the volunteer organizations. But it turns out that this signing up is purely a formality.

"They shipped me to the RSFSR, to a 'zone,' which they wanted to make an exemplary one," said one of Gena's acquaintances, an ex-convict. "As soon as I arrive, they say 'Fill out an application for the volunteer workers [obshchestvenniki]. I refuse. They lock me in the isolation cell. I sit there and think: That's enough. And I write out an application to the SPP."

"What on earth is the SPP?"

"I have no idea. I just know that you have to walk around with an armband."

"All of these Councils of the Institution Collective (SKU [Soviet Kollektiva Uchrezhdeniya]), or the Crime Prevention Section (SPP [Sektsiya Profilaktiki Pravonarusheniya]), these meetings... You know what they bring to mind?" Gena asked me. "The blotting paper, which lay on the desk of one of the bosses. Everyone has long been writing with a ball-point pen. But he has blotting paper, an ink-blotter."

And so you see, on the surface you have the meetings, the councils, the wall-newspapers—the official life of the colonies; but deep within them—the struggle for power in the "obshchak," and sorting out conflicts—which might end up with a knifing.

"Work helps a great deal, in order not to become drawn into "obshchak" business. I was willing to work two shifts, and therefore they thought of me as a 'muzhik.' I neither joined in with the social workers, nor did I become one of the 'incorrigibles,'" Gena recalls.

Work in the labor colony is not so simple either. Often there is not enough for everyone. In one of the ordinary regime colonies not long ago, almost an entire detachment was out of work. And in many of the labor colonies the equipment is antediluvian.

"If you don't want to work, you know, there are many instances in which the equipment is purposely put out of action. They pour sand into the lathes, and the administration gets riled up with good reason.

"And quite often they think that since the labor colony is given a plan, an appropriate level of political-educational work must also be provided. And even here the plan is given at any cost; even here they have maximum efforts and shock work at the end of the month. It used to be that the administration would even appeal to the prestige of the "obshchak," that the plan is a necessary one. And then everyone would immediately begin to overfulfill their norms—labor records would be set all over the place. After that, they would cast a blind eye to the 'failings' of the obshchak system."

But it is called a Corrective Labor Institution... And it is corrective, for the first month... But it turns out that we must be doing something wrong, if after going through a corrective labor institution people do not come out corrected. Scared, yes. Several days after Gena's release, he was walking up to the entrance to his home. And there stood a police car. And Gena stopped as if he had run into a wall: "Let's go back."

"What's with you, Gena? After all, you haven't done anything to feel guilty about."

"I will always be guilty now."

Later on we found out that the driver of the police car lived at the same address and had simply driven home. And Gena's fright passed. But what will remain after a few years, and when will it disappear altogether? What will be left?

"We have no restricted zones."

"We do too. They are—the 'Zones.'"

Both at the Tadzhik procurator's office responsible for overseeing observance of the laws in the labor colonies, and in the department for overseeing the observance of legality in places of deprivation of freedom at the republic procuracy, they admit that it is not only the convicts who violate the law in the colonies.

There are instances in which officers and controllers, having entered into a pact with the convicts, bring both money and liquor and even drugs into the colonies. But these materials are restricted.

And we do not talk about this. Everyone keeps silent, as if the facts about the corrective labor colonies, and glasnost as well, have been sentenced to imprisonment in places of incarceration. But what are we afraid of? That once the people find out how bad it is there, they will not be dying to get in? Even without this, people are not exactly standing in line to get into the corrective labor colonies.

Here is a letter which the editors received from a convict in a corrective labor colony in Sverdlovsk Oblast:

"During the entire three and a half years I have spent in a corrective labor colony, I have engaged in the same business for which I am serving my term—innocent mischief. I'm a criminal, but I'm not an enemy of my people. For awhile I used to think that they had Makarenko and Dzerzhinsky types working in the corrective labor colony system, but with my years of confinement I can see that the people here are average for the most part.

"Once a month a book store opens up in our colony, and in order for the trade to move more briskly, 'checking' services have been introduced. There are checks for 30, 60 and 90 rubles. One selection costs 30 rubles. It contains 20 packs of cigarettes—which is the chief 'attraction' of the selection—along with several packs of postcards and some ball-point pens; all of this for a ten-spot. And for the remaining 20 rubles for a single selection, you get political literature. You want more cigarettes—take more 'politics.' It's not a matter of the money. It's the other stuff that's terrible—all that 'political' stuff. In the end it gets thrown out.

"Help me to preserve what should not be soiled. I've broken my head against these rocks. The last time, I served out 105 days in the isolation cell, and after my attacks I got two months in the slammer. I'm writing from a cell-like accommodation now. Now prison awaits me.

"For what????"

Holding your hands behind your back when talking to the bosses is the habit of everyone who has passed through a corrective labor institution. And what do you have in your hands, hidden behind your back? No one knows. It is more peaceful not to know about the convulsions of "that" life, where they slit your veins and tattoo even your eyelids and foreheads; where they declare hunger strikes; where the very lowest category of people are found: these are the "downcast," those whom we have done violence to.

We are obliged to know what goes on there beyond the strands of barbed wire and the plowed security strip. It is so like a border; and not the state border, but between "that" life and ours. But when they return from over there, they do not go abroad; they come to us. And this painful and terrible thing is also ours. It is part of our lives: the seamy side. And for long years we have been

walking about as if on parade, making it appear as if the seamy side did not exist. I've also heard the following folklore, and not from convicts but from the colony administration, regarding the fact that one of the officials discovered with joy that the republic ITU system was 50 years old. An anniversary! They were at the point of acknowledging it, when they thought better of it. And you know, they might have even celebrated it.

...From the well the stars were visible even during the day. And in the light of glasnost, one can also see the cost of those stars which, to the accompaniment of applause, were awarded for their achievements. Or the ones on their epaulets, for the Struggle with Crime. Only, Heaven help us, it is not an organized struggle. But what then of the "obshchaks," those assemblies of criminals? And why has the number of those who have passed through the country's Corrective Labor Institution system become so astronomically high?

Of course, one cannot get along without the corrective labor institutions. But it is also unacceptable that people should come out of there the same as when they went in—and often even worse, because in the ITU itself and afterwards, they commit crimes far worse than those for which they were sentenced in the first place.

Will we, during the period of perestroyka, restructure the corrective labor institution as well? Expand the old ones? Build new ones? We can make the strict regime even stricter; the terms longer; the cell-like accommodations even more cell-like; and the punishment isolators, even more isolated.

But even the colony officials themselves admit, that "Long years of confinement negate the meaning of punishment. One also becomes accustomed to confinement." But what then is the sense of punishment, if it is no longer accepted as punishment?

And maybe we do not have to expand the old ITUs, build new ones, and better organize their work. After all, our years of stagnation were for them years of plenty. And even capital punishment did not prevent the most heinous crimes. Only the return of faith in justice and honesty will be able to do that which even the strictest regimes are incapable of.

There is stagnation at present in the republic's corrective labor establishments, the kind that makes one happy: they are planning to close the colony-settlement in Nurek, and in the future will eliminate one of the strict regime colonies.

Such are the prospects, and not only in Tadzhikistan. And in order for the colonies not to turn into "recidivism factories," the best teachers must be sent there to work; whereas, quite often the ITU system transfers its cast-offs there, those whose work was not up to par in their previous jobs. They themselves must be corrected, and they are correcting the convicts.

"What is this reject to teach me in political classes, when I have a 250-ruble newspaper subscription and he has one for only 25—and then only when the zapolit forced him to subscribe? He senses that I am more erudite, and when he sees me he sweetly says, 'Hello there, my dear little bastard.' But even the very best teacher nevertheless requires the support of the public. And not in the future, but today."

"Greetings, O representative of the torn society!" Sergey Danilov, an instructor at the ITU political section, greeted me jokingly in the colony. However, it was not the colony that I needed to break into, but other sectors. I call the Chairman of the republic Observation Commission, Deputy Chairman of the republic Council of Ministers, Yuriy Petrovich Zatsarinnyy, and request a meeting with regard to a conversation about the "zone."

"The flood zone of the Rogunskaya GES, right? No? About other zones?"

Yuriy Petrovich categorically refuses to meet with me: "No interview whatsoever. And why write about that anyway?"

But why should one not write about the work of the republic Observation Commission, which is supposed to direct and control the work of the observation commissions at the ispolkoms, and disseminate their positive experience? Why not write, if the members of the observation commissions include deputies and representatives of trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations, and enjoy extensive rights. And you see there is no reason to write about other things—what sort of positive experience, if all the convicts—and yes, also the representatives of the administration admit, that the commissions come only about transfers to settlements and the declaration of amnesty. And they sponsor a couple of concerts per year on holidays."

"We cannot recall that the Komsomol, for example, has ever darkened our doorstep, or that 22-year-olds have ever appeared at a strict regime colony," said the corrective labor camp officials. "We have no need of sponsorship in the form of colorful programs."

"But neither has anyone from the ITU system administration crossed the threshold of the Komsomol Central Committee," countered Alisher Normatov, secretary of the Tajik Komsomol Central Committee, and also a member of the republic observation commission.

Time passes, and those who have crossed the threshold into "that" life find it difficult to return to this one. The colonies have high thresholds.

I don't remember anymore where I had read about the pre-revolutionary general who came to the prisoner transport bringing only a loaf of white bread. Today we try very hard to get members of the "mercy" society to approach the old codgers. Why should we now have such

an old codger with a loaf when there is an observation commission and sponsors? But the social organizations, arriving at the colony like generals at a wedding, attend their meetings and sit on the presidium on holidays. Now we do not need generals, but privates—people who are prepared to come to the colony on a humanitarian basis. Only not in an official capacity, as chairmen of rayon observation commissions, or as deputy rayispolkom chairmen, who are constantly tormented by their current ceilings. It is good that social activeness has now been awakened. Among some of them, their hearts bleed for the architectural relics, and others for the purity of the native language. And right next to them stand "relics" of architecture which do not change—blank walls and barbed wire.

How many people are still walking about in robes with sewn-on squares upon which their name and detachment number are written? We have no Salvation Army as they have abroad, and probably we do not need an army; but there should at least be some detachments. Detachments of volunteers and not those who are sent here under orders of the chief, like in the army, as if they had received an extra work detail for correcting the fate of human beings.

And perhaps it will not be necessary to approach the prisoner transport, and perhaps the transports themselves will become fewer—if those who are now at liberty are approached in a humane manner. There are a lot of people on the outside, among whom there are also those who have come out of the corrective labor colonies, who need help. To become convinced of this it is sufficient just to attend a session of the Employment Commission at the Dushanbe Central Rayispolkom. Just on the day on which Gennadiy Zaguzov came to the Commission. He was released on an amnesty on 8 October, and received his new passport only on 28 November. He has no relatives in Dushanbe; he is unable to register for work, and no matter where he applied he was not accepted: "The money which I brought out of the colony is running out. What am I going to do, go out and steal again?"

BOMZhi are also coming here—people Without a Definite Place of Residence, many of whom have been convicted more than once. And if they are not helped—they will be first in line for a permanent place of residence in the colony.

What should be done, both with them and with those currently incarcerated? Cut them off? Disavow them? Are they all guilty of everything?

Dostoyevskiy wrote, that "...a humane attitude can humanize even one in whom the image of God faded long ago. And it is toward these 'unfortunate' that we must maintain the most humane attitude." Not simply humane, but most humane. And they are met with the least. An associate at the Tursunzadevskiy City Police Department told of how he went with an ex-convict to a

certain supervisor concerning job placement, "and that guy spoke to us in such a way that I'm surprised the man under my care was able to contain himself; I still feel like I could break loose myself..."

Yes, it is difficult to find work for such people now—there is self-financing everywhere, and reductions. They are getting rid of their surplus people. But do we really have people whose lives are surplus? It is more profitable to finance new workplaces than places for incarceration. And the transition to new economic thinking hardly signifies that it is necessary to forget about "humanizing" human relations. Let us start to think, Citizen-Comrades, just who we are in life; after all we might "humanize" our own selves merely in helping another human being.

I accompanied Genadiy Belonozhnikov for the entire journey, from the gates of the colony upon his release. And, in spite of the fact that he has, as the ITU officials say, useful contacts—his mother and sisters—and finally, a permanent address, an apartment for which he can register; as well as three specialties acquired in the colony, it was not an easy journey. Pretending to be his "cousin", I accompanied him for several days, both to work, and to the rayon militia department to inquire about his release. Only—first one office was closed, then another; or they would say, "come before lunch," or "come after lunch."

It also happened that, in entering the office of the rayon militia department with him, I started to explain to a man in civilian clothes sitting behind a desk, "My cousin has been released; they said to come to see you..."

And in reply, a shout: "What does this look like, the entrance hall? Why have you come in without knocking? I'm busy. Get out of here!"

For Gena it was as if he'd been bowled over by the wind. He stands in the corridor, flexing his fists. Then he admitted that, "If it were not for you, I would not have come to the militia at all. They could just put me away again."

It also happened that at one of the plants in Dushanbe they simply did not want to talk to us, as soon as they found out about Gena's previous "place of work." At another I found it necessary to bring all my eloquence to bear in order to convince the chief of the personnel department that not everyone who returns from the colony has a labor book. It was only 24 days after his release that Gena managed, after going through all the conversations with the militia, to register and find a job. And who knows, if it had not been for my constant presence, even if I were not a correspondent, but just a "cousin," would Gennadiy Belonozhnikov have been able to commence a normal life with so few problems? But we helped only one person, and every day many

people return from places of incarceration... Even the officials at the militia and the colony said, "He was lucky," when they found out how quickly Gena's "social reanimation" took place.

And they cited dozens of examples in which people released from the ITU were "not so lucky."

At the Zheleznodorozhnyy Rayon Police Department they had detained a young woman named Galina S.. Not finding any evidence of a crime they release her, but she begs, "Arrest me. I'll steal something, anything, only put me in jail. I was released a year ago, but have no relatives and no registration card, and cannot get a job. And in two months I'm going to have a baby."

I drive over to her friend's place, where Galya lives. A young woman opens the gate.

"Does Galya live here?"

"She used to. The old bat from whom I'm renting the room started to grumble, and she up and left. In the spring she's going to give birth, and she'll come back then. She has no one else to go to. Whose child is it? Oh, it was some guy, another ex-convict. When he finds out she's pregnant, he says, 'Just go wherever you want, and give the kid to the orphanage.'"

The private house where Galya S. used to live with her girlfriend sits directly opposite the strict regime colony from which Gennadiy Belonozhnikov was released on 6 November last year.

09006

#### TaSSR Textbook-Writing Competition Draws Weak Response

18300231 [Editorial Report] Dushanbe KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA in Russian on 30 March 1988 carries on page 2 a 500-word article by TadzhikTA correspondent D. Aminova entitled "The Competition That Never Was" in which she reports that only 15 entries were received from collectives and individual authors in the competition for the creation of 23 textbooks on Tajik language and literature, Russian language and literature, and on the history and geography of the Tajik SSR. The chief of the TaSSR Ministry of Education textbook department, M. K. Karimov, said that although the competition was declared at the beginning of 1987, neither the Ministry nor the Republic State Commission for Publishing Houses had rules for the contest available until May, at which time they decided to extend the deadline to a year and a half. In the opinion of TaSSR Academy of Sciences President M. S. Asimov, the best solution would have been to create joint collectives of scholars and teachers; this, however, never got beyond the discussion stage. To prepare a manuscript and publish it takes 2 to 3 years, says Asimov, and even then the "Maorif" publishing house cannot cope with a large

volume of textbooks. In the meantime, language study in local schools remains a serious matter. For 1989, 16 of the titles of texts and methodological aids projected by the Ministry of Education have not been accepted by

publishing houses and, as a rule, the texts and their accompanying illustrative materials are published at different times, so what you get is "kasha on the table but no spoon to eat it with."

**Procedures for Demonstrations, Meetings  
Outlined in ESSR Supreme Soviet Decree**  
*18000227 Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in  
Russian 31 Jan 88 p 2*

[Decree of the Presidium of the Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic on Gatherings, Meetings, Street Processions, Demonstrations, and Other Events Organized Based on the Citizens' Initiative.]

[Text] In order to determine the conditions and ways of implementing Article 48 of the Constitution of the Estonian SSR concerning the freedom of citizens to conduct gatherings, meetings, street processions, demonstrations, and other events, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Estonian SSR decrees:

1. All gatherings, meetings, street processions, demonstrations, and other events organized based on the initiative of Estonian SSR citizens in the streets, squares, parks, and other public places, are subject to previous registration by their organizers in the ispolkom of the rayon or city (for cities of republican subordination) Soviet of peoples' deputies.

If the event is carried out on the territory of only one rayon of the city of Tallin, the registration takes place at the ispolkom of the rayon Soviet of people's deputies; in case of two or more rayons, it takes place at the ispolkom of the Soviet of people's deputies of the city of Tallin.

2. The registration of the event organized based on the citizens' initiative in the ispolkom of the Soviet of people's deputies is allowed if this event serves the interests of the people and the goals of strengthening and developing socialist order and corresponds with the requirements of Soviet Law, provides for State security and the strengthening of public order, protects the rights and lawful interests of citizens, and is in accordance with the rules of Socialist society and norms of morality.

3. The preliminary registration of the event organized by the citizens' initiative is carried out on the basis of its organizer's application submitted in writing and showing the following:

purpose, form, place, route, time of the event's starting and ending; person responsible for providing order during the preparation and carrying out of the events; approximate number of participants.

The application for the registration of the event is signed by the persons who applied for it, as well as by the person responsible for order during its preparation and carrying out. The application shall show last name, first name and patronymic, year and place of birth, and place of residence of each of the mentioned persons.

The application for the preliminary registration of the event is applied at the respective ispolkom of Soviet people's deputies not less than 10 days before the event is to take place and is examined by the ispolkom's chairman (deputy chairman) within 5 days.

Applications for carrying out events are not accepted from citizens under 18 years of age, and those without permanent registration and work.

4. The chairman (deputy chairman) of the ispolkom of the Soviet peoples' deputies has the right:

to determine during the registration of the event, the place, order, and routes of the event, time of starting and ending of the event, and other conditions for carrying it out;

invite, if necessary, the organizer of the event, in order to obtain additional data about the event being scheduled;

refuse to register the event, showing the reasons, the order and terms of appeal.

The decision of the chairman (deputy chairman) of the ispolkom of the Soviet of People's deputies to refuse or to change the conditions of the event may be appealed within 3 days to the respective ispolkom of the Soviet of people's deputies. The complaint is discussed at the ispolkom's meeting and its decision is final.

5. The ispolkom of the Soviet of people's deputies must take the necessary measures:

to provide public order during the carrying out of the registered event;

to interrupt the event if it is not registered, or if the organizers or participants of the event violated its conditions, if the Soviet laws are violated, State security is harmed, or public order is violated.

6. Persons who violated the order of carrying out events or the law during the preparation or carrying out of the event are liable in accordance with the law.

Material losses incurred to the State or citizens during the preparation and carrying out of the events are reimbursed by the guilty in accordance with the law.

7. The order of carrying out the events specified by this Decree is applicable to all bodies of spontaneous civic activities of the population, which have the properly approved Statute. In a case where the aforementioned Statute is absent, the event is not registered.

8. To approve the procedure of applying this Decree by the ispolkoms of local Soviets of people's deputies (procedure is attached). An ispolkom of a Soviet of people's deputies may, if necessary, take into account the local

conditions, and add or change the approved by the Presidium order, as long as these changes do not contradict this Decree and the laws of the Estonian SSR.

9. This Decree does not apply to the events carried out by the State authorities and public organizations.

Chairman of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet  
A.Ryuytel

Secretary of the Presidium of the ESSR Supreme Soviet  
V.Vakht

13355

**Latvian KGB Chief Scores Western Anti-Soviet Activities in Baltic Republics**

*18000282 Riga KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII  
in Russian No 2, Feb 88 (signed to press 25 Jan 88)  
pp 34-41*

[Article by S. Zukul, chairman of the Latvian SSR Committee for State Security: "The Homeland's Shield and Sword"]

[Excerpt] Even today the Western imperialist states and their special services and various radio voices are not overlooking the Soviet Baltic republics—Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, which are located on the country's western frontiers. Around the clock, intelligence-gathering planes from the capitalist countries make overflights of our borders, and submarines and surface vessels equipped with radiointelligence-gathering devices cruise near Latvia's borders in the neutral waters of the Baltic. Every year the republic is visited by several hundred staff members of embassies and other missions of the capitalist countries, among whom are a good many professional intelligence agents. The foreign special services also make use in their hostile activities of individual citizens of the republics who, by virtue of their political immaturity and moral instability, succumb to hostile pressuring and embark on a criminal path. This is attested to by materials from court cases involving espionage charges against republic residents Skudra, Niyedra, Bumeyster and Lismanis, who have been exposed in such actions in recent years.

A significant role in the subversive activities of the Western countries' special services is also played by reactionary emigre organizations, which under the guise of the so-called "Baltic issue" endeavor to expand the scale of subversive ideological actions and attempt to instigate hostile nationalist demonstrations. Last summer and autumn there was an unprecedented activization of anti-soviet activities by foreign ideological centers. As is known, matters reached the point of open and flagrant interference by the imperialist states and their special services in the sovereign Soviet Baltic republics' internal affairs.

Attempts to stage provocative actions at the Liberty Monument on 14 June and 23 August are a vivid example of this. These were politically dangerous nationalistic sallies. The political measures adopted by the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee, as well as the skilled actions, restraint and coolness of the Chekists, militia and volunteer militia's aides made it possible to prevent these sallies from having undesirable consequences. However, the anti-Soviet foreign organizations and their patrons were not content. They decided to organize an anti-Soviet action on 18 November under the pretext of so-called "Latvian Independence Day." The U.S. Congress even adopted a special resolution on this matter, which was passed in an openly hostile and inflammatory spirit. Just how this sensation ended is widely known. The working people of Latvia did not care to act according to a scenario written by an alien and unfriendly hand. On 15 November a session of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a statement expressing a strong protest on behalf of the Latvian people against the U.S. Congress resolution. The Latvian people's anger and indignation were aroused by the impudent behavior of representatives of the American Embassy in Moscow, who refused to receive deputies of the republic's highest government body who had intended to deliver the statement of the Latvian SSR Supreme Soviet. Protest rallies were held in labor collectives of the republic's enterprises and educational institutions. And on 18 November only one mass political action took place—a 10,000-strong protest rally by Riga's working people against the American authorities' brazen provocation.

In political work to thwart the enemy's planned hostile actions, a large role was played by the party committees of enterprises and organizations, the mass media, and television appearances by the republic's leaders. The Chekists' operational work also contributed to the provocations' failures.

Last year's attempts to provoke anti-Soviet demonstrations in Latvia were not just isolated attacks but a continuation of incessant subversive activities by the imperialist states' special services. Positive changes in the USSR and the Soviet government's broad-scale foreign policy initiatives aimed at preserving and strengthening the peace, preventing nuclear war and developing a new political thinking in the international community are evoking not only the interest and sympathy of the foreign public but also a negative reaction among the most aggressive circles. That is the only attitude they could take. The imperialist states' intelligence centers continue to be eager to obtain our political, economic and scientific and technological secrets and to strive to penetrate important defense facilities and scientific research institutes. And what is characteristic of ideological subversion now is a reliance on undermining the internationalist unity and fraternal friendship of our country's peoples discrediting specific measures to restructure the economy and economic management

system and impeding the process of improving Soviet democracy that is taking place in the country, and capitalizing on the human rights theme.

The Western special services use every means possible to seek out gaps allowing entry into our country, sometimes find them and, one must say bluntly, exert a hostile influence on a certain number of people. Cases are known in which individuals under the influence of foreign agents embark on the path of committing anti-state and antisocial actions and engage in outright collaboration with foreign intelligence services and betrayal of the homeland. These facts cannot be ignored. They must be disclosed and submitted to public judgment, and when necessary, the force of Soviet laws must be resolutely brought to bear. Touching on this issue at a meeting with representatives of the French public last September, M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, said: "...Everything that strengthens socialism, including glasnost and democracy, everything must be supported and welcomed. But that is everything that strengthens socialism. However, if—and we have already encountered this sort of thing—someone within the country or beyond its borders wants to use our openness and glasnost in order to incite extremist elements and antisocialist elements—and they do exist, although this phenomenon is not so widespread and broad in scale—we immediately say openly: no, we will not allow anyone to go against socialism. Everything will be done in order to strengthen socialism."

The interests of combating hostile actions against our country demand a decisive enhancement of the ideological work of party and public organizations and the upbringing of the Soviet people, especially young people, in the spirit of limitless devotion to communist ideals and love for the homeland.

The country's and republic's state security agencies are always on guard, vigilantly keep track of the intrigues of Western intelligence services and ideological centers, disclose their plans and intentions, and deliver a resolute rebuff to their actions. This is our civic and party duty. And we shall remain faithful to it. From the processes of renewal that are taking place in all spheres of the life of Soviet society arises the strictest need for restructuring the work of the Chekist agencies, as well. And that restructuring is under way. The executives and party organizations of the republic KGB are doing everything necessary to reliably ensure the security of Soviet people's peaceful, creative labor. We are working to make every Chekist a genuine champion of restructuring who stands firmly on principled, party positions in assessing his personal contribution and the work of his entire collective. The question of strengthening the socialist rule of law is assuming special importance in the work of the state security agencies. A Chekist is required to be a model in his attitude toward the law, and his actions should strictly conform to the processes of the development and deepening of socialist democracy.

The Latvian SSR state security agencies have professionally trained cadres who are fully reliable, ideologically tempered, devoted to the party and the people, and capable of augmenting the Chekist traditions established by F. Dzerzhinskiy and his comrades-in-arms.

The state security agencies serve the people and derive their strength from it. In carrying out thorough restructuring, the CPSU is drawing the working people more and more widely into the resolution of political questions and working toward a situation in which the people know everything and form conscious judgments of everything. Under these conditions it is exceptionally important to constantly strengthen ties with the people and endeavor for people to clearly understand that the efforts of the KGB agencies are directed at ensuring the security of the state and society and preventing individual citizens from embarking on the path of antistate and antisocial activities. We show constant concern that our Chekist actions are well understood by the working people and find their full support.

The KGB organs have accumulated a rich experience in maintaining ties with the masses. Work is constantly being done to inform the public about the intrigues of the class adversary and the basic objectives and areas of our work. The better informed the working people are on issues of state security, the more consciously and actively they participate in work to enhance political vigilance. The republic's KGB employees regularly give lectures at enterprises and in institutions and hold conversations in labor collectives. The capabilities of the press, television and radio are also widely used for this. Work with letters from the working people and the prompt and correct reaction to them are important in strengthening ties with the masses. Open forms of preventive work with public involvement are another means of implementing in practice the principle of ties with the people and reliance on the masses.

The objectives set by the 27th congress of accelerating socioeconomic development are being accomplished under the conditions of a complex international situation and bitter class struggle that socialism has to wage against capitalism. The adversary assigns a special place to the intelligence agencies, ideological sabotage centers and other special services. Under these conditions, the main task of the state security agencies is to combat the secret subversive activities of the adversary and prevent, uncover and stop dangerous hostile actions, especially espionage, terror, sabotage and other criminal encroachments on the Soviet state and social system.

The 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent plenums have set many new and responsible tasks for the state security agencies, and the central one of them is to learn to work under the conditions of an expansion of democracy and glasnost, for the Chekists' actions should strictly conform to the processes of the development and deepening of socialist democracy.

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### Dual-Language Issue and National Relations in Latvia

18000281 Riga KOMMUNIST SOVETSKOY LATVII  
in Russian No 2, Feb 88 (signed to press 25 Jan 88)  
pp 90-97

[Article by A. Blinkena, corresponding member of the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences, "Language Under Conditions of International Contact"]

[Text] Today we often turn to the past. This is not a tribute to fashion or a retreat from the present, but rather a desire to better interpret it in historical perspective. In the 3 years which have passed since the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee, when we developed the concepts of renewing our society and made the first steps toward their realization, we are again rethinking both the path that we have travelled and all the aspects of our present-day life, our social relations. Under conditions of expanding glasnost and democracy, we are also conducting a heated discussion of the accumulated problems in national relations, their various aspects to which we have closed our eyes for a long time. In interpreting these questions, it might also be helpful for us to turn to the Leninist stage of history of the Soviet state, to its beginnings, and to the short initial period of Soviet rule in our republic.

So, the year is 1919. The government of Soviet Latvia headed by P. Stuchka, along with solving economic, political and ideological problems, also devotes great attention to the national question and to such an important aspect of it as language and linguistic policy. One of the first decrees by the government of Soviet Latvia was the decree on language, which in accordance with Lenin's ideas, told of the equal right to speak and write in any language and of the creation of a translation service for meeting such demands. A principally important fact in the history of the Latvian literary language was that the state for the first time recognized its new orthography. Reminding us of this, P. Stuchka stressed in his article entitled "Against the Enmity of Peoples and National Hatred" (1921): "This is evidence of the fact that the Communists are far from indifferent to language..." (Stuchka, P. "The National Question and the Latvian Proletariat", Liyesma, 1972, p. 240, in Latvian).

Today, when the questions of language culture and its increased role in international communication and in the problem of bilingualism are acutely presented, the words of P. Stuchka uttered almost 70 years ago sound very current. We don't know, he noted, what age had been given to the Latvian language. But while 1.5 million Latvians speak it, "I consider it my sacred duty to apply all my effort to improving it" (Ibid., p 241). It was

specifically P. Stuchka, noting that he had never specially engaged in questions of the Latvian language, who was the party and state leader who followed Leninist principles in linguistic problems not only in word, but also in deed.

Even before the victory of the Socialist revolution in the article "Federation or Democratic Self-Government?" (TSINYA, 12 April 1917), he stressed the Leninist point of view that communists are fighting for full equal rights of all peoples and languages without recognizing any official state language or any privileges for any one language. "What do the Bolsheviks promise toward this end?", he asked, and answered specifically: "Complete freedom of the Latvian language in Latvia itself, the creation of cultural centers throughout Russia to meet the needs of the Latvian language, and along with this the equal rights of all other languages alongside Latvian" (Ibid., p 143).

This statement has not lost its current nature even today. If we think about the linguistic situation in our republic, and not only here, we will find that this idea of P. Stuchka today resounds from the most varied tribunes. Only now such new terms as "bilingualism" and "culture of international communication" which he did not yet use have become widespread. However, their essence is the same as the notions expressed in his words about linguistic policy and about the means of its realization.

The provision of full freedom and equal rights of all languages was, as we know, a part of Lenin's program for solving the national question. We know how this program was implemented in practical application immediately after the victory of the socialist revolution. The Latvian population of Soviet Russia also felt its fruits. Cultural centers were created in various regions of the country where Latvians lived. These cultural centers included schools and other institutions where instruction was given in the native language. They also comprised an instructional base with Latvian-speaking personnel.

However, this fruitful process was abruptly halted in the late 30's under the personality cult of Stalin and the direct retreat from Leninist principles in linguistic policy. All the Latvian schools were closed and the cultural centers liquidated. The consequences of these authoritarian actions may be judged by the results of the linguistic expedition organized in 1985 by the Latvian SSR Academy of Sciences to Bashkiria, where around 1,000 Latvians live today. The spoken Latvian language is still alive there today, but the written tradition no longer exists. Even the correspondence between parents and their sons who have been called up into the army is in Russian. The young people (as well as the older generation) never learned the Latvian written language. The situation is the same in other places where there are compact groups of Latvians living outside the republic. Whether they like it or not, a large number of Latvians (as well as representatives of other peoples) are gradually losing their ties with their native language and with their

national culture. But does this enrich the multinational Soviet culture? After all, as V. Kolesov, one of the specialists in the field of historical philology, so aptly noted, language is not simply words. It is the universal stronghold of the national culture, the means of thought, the properties of the character in grammatical categories.

The departure from the Leninist principles in this, one of the most delicate spheres of national relations, had negative effects even after the cult of personality was abolished. These effects and the accumulating new problems did not find interpretation, taking on the symptoms of an old illness which had been neglected and which under conditions of democratization and glasnost was manifested in heated discussions in the press.

Among the number of reasons which delayed clarification of the most acute linguistic problems there is one question of a general nature. This is the simplified, dogmatic understanding of national relations under socialism, as well as of social relations as a whole. It was believed that all contradictions in their development had already been overcome. Let us be frank. This unsubstantiated definition led us not toward the study of viable life, but toward the building of schemes even in the sphere of linguistic interaction which, if we think about it, cannot develop without contradictions, like any social phenomenon.

In such a multinational state as ours, where 130 nations and peoples live and work side by side and where the integration processes in all spheres of life are objectively growing, the formation of national relations is by far not without problems. Let us take, for example, such a question as the migration processes, which have intensified specifically in the past 2-3 decades. Our republic has one of the highest percentages of migration as compared with other regions of the country, although it has declined somewhat recently. Thus, from 1971 through 1975 the increase in population in Latvia due to migration has comprised 76,000 people, from 1976 through 1980—45,000 and from 1981 through 1985—53,000. For a long time we simply did not stop to think what effect this had on our national relations and on the psychological climate in this sphere. We did not consider the new facets which emerged here and which, if ignored for a long time, run the risk of becoming acute. We must also remember the fact that in the eyes of the native nationality the demographic as well as the housing and the more acute ecological problem are often colored in a national tonality.

Undoubtedly, the unsolved state and acuteness of a number of social problems (housing, urban transport, trade) and the domestic problems and conflicts associated with them often spill over into the plane of national relations and give rise to so-called "trolley-car nationalism". Of course, this is a sure sign of a low level of general culture, and not only of the culture of international relations. But it seems to me that here it is important not simply to shrug the question off in disgust

or to give a coarse rebuff, but rather to give more thorough and more serious consideration to these instances in the solution of economic and social-domestic questions.

Today, it seems, we are gradually beginning to get smart under the pressure of broad and open discussion of the contradictory interaction of the national and inter-national in our life on the whole and in the linguistic sphere in particular. There is an entire set of difficult questions here which are associated with concerns and worries about the development of the national language, with its instruction in the schools, with its social function, and with the problem of bilingualism. These problems firmly prompt us to seek answers which are tested against reality, and not those which soar above it in their scholastic nature.

Language as a significant trait of a people most clearly characterizes a person's national appurtenance. It is specifically in his native language that a person can better assimilate the basics of knowledge, apply them more productively, and express his creative capacities most completely. Language is the keeper of a people's self-consciousness, and its impoverishment or narrowing of its boundaries is a reduction in the level of thinking, a narrowing of the boundaries of knowledge. The Russian writer L. Leonov expresses the notion of "linguistic forgetfulness", to which he counterposes the boundless palette of the national language. Do we always realize this? Don't we act sometimes like forgetful "mancurites", not noticing the weaknesses in our speech, its littering with bureaucratic expressions, various stereotypical cliches, and unjustified foreign borrowings?

Obviously, in our time an educated person of any country can rarely limit himself to knowledge of only one language without running the risk of depriving himself of minimal information about events outside his native land, about the achievements of other countries, or about innovations in some sphere of knowledge or other. The need to know at least one other language besides one's native tongue is even more crucial in such a multi-national state as ours. Without this, free communication with people of other nationalities would be impossible. The Russian language, one of the richest and most well developed languages in the world, has become the means which allows us to overcome the language barrier. Life itself demands that everyone in our country have a mastery of at least two languages—one's own native language, and Russian. Aside from this, in many professions it is absolutely necessary to have a mastery of some foreign language.

Thus, bilingualism is an objective reality which would be unrealistic to contest. Another question is how this bilingualism is manifested in linguistic practice. This is where the problems, sometimes rather difficult ones, arise. That is why so much attention is being focused today on the reinterpretation of the unjustified and thoughtless approaches to many questions of linguistic

practice. Here, on one hand, we need to work on increasing the level of linguistic culture as a whole, the prestige of each language, and the respect for it. On the other hand, we must seek means of solving a number of organizational problems.

It is important that a person not only recognize the value of his own native language, its roots and possibilities, but also that he know how to value any other language and its significance in the development of culture and in the expansion of the world outlook held by each of us. It is specifically on linguistic soil that conflicts in international relations most often arise if the representative of one nation has a haughty and condescending attitude toward another, stressing not his inability to explain himself in the other language, but rather his reluctance to master it or even to recognize the fact that it is worthy of study.

Often we become convinced that it is not so much a person's knowledge or lack of knowledge of the nationality's local language which is an important cause in the emergence of alienation, but rather the person's attitude toward someone who speaks the other language. The novel by Ya. Kalnin "Auseklis" contains the words: "If a people want to alienate some other people, they probably cannot do this any better than by showing a lack of respect for [the other people's] language". And what else but disrespect for the language of the native nationality can we call such a situation where a certain portion of the permanent Russian-speaking residents of the republic who have lived here sometimes for several decades, even from their very birth, cannot speak a word of Latvian? This was heatedly discussed at the Latvian Writer's Congress in April of 1986 in the introductions given by our writers—both Russian and Latvian—and presented in the republic and all-union press (Ya. Peters, R. Ezera, M. Kostenetskaya, L. Azarova and others). M. Kostenetskaya characterized this phenomenon as follows: "Lack of respect for the language and culture of that nation on whose land you have made your home is the first sign of lack of culture". One thing is true in this fiery affirmation—for the person who does not know the language of the people of native nationality while living side by side with them, their culture, history, traditions and spiritual heritage remain largely inaccessible to him. They might object that they could acquaint themselves with Latvian culture in Russian if they had the desire to do so. But let us not forget that, first of all, far from everything is accessible in Russian, and secondly, the depth of philosophical thought of Raynis, for example, the emotional world of his works, may be felt in all its fullness only by reading them in the original. The same may be said also of our days, our folk songs.

But let us also not forget a purely practical aspect. After all, there are many professions where a knowledge of two languages is an absolute necessity, as for example in jurisprudence and in the sphere of consumer services

and trade, not to mention medicine, where bilingualism is not only a linguistic, ideological or social question, but sometimes even a question of life in the direct sense of the word.

Today in the republic ever more opportunities are being created for those who do not know Latvian and who want to master it. For the second year a television series is being broadcast to help those who are studying Latvian. Courses have been organized in clubs, at enterprises and institutions. Unfortunately, they are as yet not always effective enough because there is still no experience in their organization and methodological provision. We make little use of the comparative method in the study of languages. This method helps to see the common and the specific in Russian and Latvian speech, and this may facilitate proper usage. Much still remains unresolved in the provision of instructional literature, although some things have already been done in this regard. There is a shortage of Russian-Latvian dictionaries, conversation manuals, idiom dictionaries, and various kinds of reference materials. Linguists, philologists, and the writing community still have much work to do in searching for new forms and possibilities for the truly interested, really mutual assimilation of the Latvian and Russian languages by all citizens of the republic. The main thing, maybe, is in awakening such interest and such a need to master the other language. Evidently, in such a favorable atmosphere the study of the language of the native nationality by foreign-speaking people will also proceed more actively. After all, we must not forget that this is a difficult endeavor which takes many years, and success here, particularly at a mature age, does not come easily.

It is not mutual pretensions, not the battle in the trolley-car or the store, or even in the newspaper which can create such an atmosphere. Rather, it is painstaking, positive work in different directions, from the most unnoticeable and rough work to such forms as Russian-language discussion evenings on Latvian writers, which have already attracted the attention of the community. As the creative meeting of Ya. Peters in the philharmonic concert hall demonstrated, people who do not speak Latvian or who do not have a good mastery of it respond with great interest to the invitation to gain a better knowledge of our culture, as well as of those who today participate in its development. Such living lessons, undoubtedly, are more fruitful and give much greater effect that the most fervent appeals or didactic maxims.

Linguists are faced with many concerns and responsibilities in studying the linguistic situation and working out substantiated recommendations. Thanks to the creation of the scientific center at the LaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature, Latvian Soviet linguistics has created works which would have been beyond the capacities of a single person working outside of a large collective. Here we may cite such major works as the "Grammar of the Latvian Language" by Ya. Endzelin, which was among the first works of Soviet

linguists to be awarded the Lenin Prize; the first two volumes of the "Dictionary of Latvian SSR Toponyms" by Ya. Endzelin, which was recognized with a republic state prize; the "Grammar of the Current Latvian Literary Language" in two volumes, which was also awarded the Latvian SSR state prize, and a number of other research works on the linguistic history, dialectology, structure and phonetics of the current literary language.

A particular place not only in a theoretical but also in a practical respect belongs to the works which are devoted to problems of current standards of the literary language, linguistic culture, and questions of terminology. This direction of linguistics is today quite current in the entire world, since linguistic culture largely reflects the state of the society and comprises a significant portion of man's general culture. It was specifically questions of the conscious development of literary standards in language which occupied one of the primary places at the 14th International Congress of Linguists held in August of last year in Berlin, the capital of the GDR. The Congress discussed various aspects of language and its literary standards. All the participants unanimously agreed that such standards are not only necessary as a connecting link in an all-national language, but moreover—lack of adherence or lack of knowledge [of these standards] may threaten great difficulties for a person in his communication, and moreover in his selection of certain professions (actor, announcer, etc.). Let us remember "Pygmalion" by B. Shaw or perhaps the autobiographical notes of L. Gurchenko, who had to experience many unpleasant, even bitter moments in this connection.

The literary standard of the Latvian language has been formulated over a period of many centuries and, of course, has stabilized quite recently on individual questions, or is still developing today—in response to the change in the linguistic situation and to the social demands, retaining all the while the continuity of traditions and the basic principles of its formulation. However, we must note that in recent years we find both superficial knowledge and intentional lack of adherence, often specifically by cultural workers (maybe it only seems this way because their language is most often within our field of vision). Often even the axiomatic standards are ignored, whose place in the culture of our speech was not subjected to doubt since the 30's, when they were substantiated and secured by Ya. Endzelin. Here, for example, we may mention the use of feminine names with masculine endings, which for some reason seems to be a matter of personal preference for some women bearing these names, rather than evidence of their lack of knowledge of grammar and lack of respect for the language. I have often had occasion to note these and other distortions in the special literature as well as in the mass press. But bad habits and bad taste do not give way so easily to true culture, even in the linguistic sphere.

A significant portion of the errors in Latvian speech often occur also because we do not delve deeply enough into the meaning and grammatical structure of the words

in the Latvian language as compared with Russian, with which the interaction is particularly active. This phenomenon of so-called interference has often been analyzed, as evidenced by the bibliographic indicator entitled "Latvian-Russian Bilingualism" (1987) compiled by V. Drizule and V. Gerentovich. This work also encompasses other studies on the ties of the Latvian and Russian languages in the present and in the past.

The problem of bilingualism in the republic, not only its linguistic, but also its social, psychological and cultural-historical aspects, present new tasks for those who study these processes as well as for those who deal with their management. For the present, we have had only those data regarding these processes which we obtained from the regular census of the population. But this is far from sufficient to have a complete understanding of the problems which arise here. We also need special socio-linguistic studies, which we are only now undertaking. At the directive of the USSR Academy of Sciences integrated scientific council dealing with research on the development of national languages in a socialist society, the republic has begun a study on the current linguistic situation and the real state of affairs in the sphere of bilingualism in a quantitative as well as in a qualitative sense. Using questionnaires and special tests, linguists are to determine how many people have a mastery of Latvian and Russian, and to what degree. These studies will take a random sampling of a number of the republic's enterprises and institutions of various type.

There is more practical work being performed in the republic on resolving questions of inter-national communication, on increasing its culture, and on propagandizing positive experience, as well as openly criticizing negative "experience". A Commission on National and Inter-National Relations has been created under the Latvian Communist Party Central Committee. Specifically, linguistic problems occupy an important place in the work of this commission. The question of the state of affairs in Russian language instruction in Latvian schools and Latvian language instruction in Russian schools was the first to be discussed by the Commission. As pedagogical cadres are trained, the decision has been made to begin teaching Russian children Latvian and Latvian children Russian starting at the age of 5 in all children's preschool institutions. Such work is being organized most successfully, for example, in the Yelgavskiy, Rezeknenskiy and Gulbenskiy rayons. Insufficient attention is being given to teaching Latvian to children of other nationalities in the kindergartens of Riga. Thus, in Proletarskiy rayon there is only one kindergarten that teaches Latvian, while in Moskovskiy rayon there are none.

We need to seek an optimal approach to the distribution of instructional time for the study of language and literature and for its weighted proportions, the last of which evokes justified complaints to the republic's Ministry of Education. The Commission has specifically directed this Ministry to find a means of increasing the

time for study of Latvian in secondary educational institutions which conduct their instruction in Russian. It would be expedient to transfer the bulk of language instruction hours to the younger grades, when language is most easily assimilated. Starting with the next instructional year, Latvian language exams are to be introduced for the graduating and pre-graduating classes of secondary general education schools which conduct their instruction in Russian.

Today one of the most serious problems is the shortage of well-trained Latvian language instructors to work in schools where instruction is conducted in Russian. Although such philologists are trained at the pedagogical faculty of LGU [Latvian State University] imeni P. Stuchka, as well as at the Liyepaysk Pedagogical Institute imeni V. Latsis, there is still a shortage of specialists. There are also no good textbooks, visual aids, or audio-lingual laboratories. Our scientific center in linguistics could probably aid the schools in this regard.

All of us, linguists and cultural workers, party organizations and administrative organs, labor collectives and every citizen, regardless of where he works, are responsible for seeing that our moral and spiritual values—the friendship of peoples of all nationalities and inter-national relations of Soviet peoples—are not dissipated, but strengthened. The time of democracy and glasnost has opened new possibilities for social and spiritual creativity in this regard. I believe the press must tell more about collectives where questions of interpersonal relations, bilingualism, and development of mutual respect between people of different nationalities are resolved in a positive manner. For example, I remember the story by K. Pakalin about the "Uzvar" kolkhoz in Bauskiy rayon (TSINYA, 11 July 1987) as being among the most interesting materials. Here, the representatives of 19 nationalities live and work like a big, happy family. No language problems arise here, because everyone knows Russian, while the representatives of the non-native population at least understand Latvian and are trying to gain a better mastery of it.

The 10th annual Language Week, which is held in October and organized by the LaSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Language and Literature, has begun to sparkle with new color. A republic teacher's conference devoted to the Latvian language and literature, a 2-day inter-republican seminar on the criteria of linguistic literary standards, and a youth meeting in the House of Knowledge on the topic of "The Language of the Youth" were held in the course of this week. The youth meeting had to be repeated at the request of those who could not get into the overcrowded meeting hall. Various meetings, talks, and olympic competitions were held in the schools and VUZes, as well as the traditional day of linguistic practice, where one could become acquainted also with the experience of formulating linguistic culture in other republics, by our neighbors.

In March of last year, a Celebration of Language was held for the first time at the initiative of the Latvian SSR Union of Writers. The role of this celebration was to help interpret language as a great treasure of mankind, and the concern for native speech, linguistic culture and respect for all languages as the sacred duty of each person. This Celebration, which will become a tradition, is aimed primarily at the student youth. This is very important, since linguistic training is no less significant in formulating the personality than moral, aesthetic or physical training. If this training and self-training is successful, a significant portion of the problems in inter-national relations will be solved in a more optimal manner.

The meeting of the republic active membership held in January and devoted to questions of improving international and patriotic training of our people stressed the fact that young people need particular attention. We must instill internationalism and a high culture of relations between people of different nationalities, not only at festivals of friendship, but at every lesson and every lecture, in common labor and rest. Political discussion clubs on problems of history, culture and languages might also help the youth to better understand these complex questions. An honest and frank discussion with the youth reinforced by kind and specific deeds—this is the way to formulating a high culture of inter-national relations.

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**Latvian Environmental Issues Focus of Concern**  
*Riga SOVETSKAYA LATVIYA in Russian 26 Mar 88*  
*p 2/2*

[LATINFORM report: "At the Latvian SSR Procuracy"]

[Text] An expanded session of the Latvian SSR Procuracy Collegium took place at which the question of procuracy supervision of compliance with the republic's environmental protection legislation was discussed.

Participants of the session noted that despite measures which have been carried out, pollution of the Gulf of Riga, the Daugava River, many small rivers and lakes, as well as of the soil and aerial basin remains at a high level. An unfavorable ecological situation has developed in Riga, Ventspils, Liepaya, Ogre, Yurmala and Daugavpils. Of special concern is the state of the environment at Olayne where the main polluter of the environment is the Latvbiofram Production Association.

Last year this enterprise let approximately 160 tons of polluting substances escape into the atmosphere. The association's purification facilities also do not provide for the disposal of industrial and municipal sewage. I.

Kh. Penke, general director of the Latvbioform Production Association, gave an explanatory report to the collegium. Measures for improving the present situation were also discussed. I. Kh. Penke signed the cautionary note issued to him by the procurator of the Latvian SSR. In accordance with this document, if a breach of regulations is ascertained, criminal proceedings could be instituted calling the general director to account if he does not take effective action in improving the ecological situation at Olayne by the designated date.

At the collegium local procuracy organs were admonished as to the necessity of maximum utilization in the

struggle for preservation of the environment of all the authority guaranteed them by legislation.

The collegium examined a series of other questions.

T.L. Dushkevich, chief of the administrative organs department of the Latvian CP Central Committee took part in the work of the collegium.

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